DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 381 001 FL 022 826

AUTHOR Djite, Paulin G.
TITLE From Language Policy to Language Planning: An Overview of Languages Other Than English in Australian Education.
INSTITUTION Australian National Languages and Literacy Inst., Deakin.
REPORT NO ISBN-1-875578-33-1
PUB DATE 94
NOTE 179p.
AVAILABLE FROM National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Ltd., Level 2, 6 Campion Street, Deakin, Australian Capital Territory 2600, Australia.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Books (010)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Arabic; Chinese; Educational Assessment; *Educational Policy; Federal Government; Foreign Countries; French; German; Greek; Immigrants; Indonesian Languages; International Trade; Italian; Japanese; Language Attitudes; *Language Planning; Language Research; *Language Role; Linguistic Theory; Malay; *Public Policy; Second Language Instruction; *Second Languages; Sociolinguistics; Spanish; State Government; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS *Australia

ABSTRACT

Based on an Australian study creating sociolinguistic profiles of nine languages other than English (LOTE) commonly used in Australia, the report examines implications for public language policy and planning. The languages are: Arabic; Chinese; French; German; Modern Greek; Indonesian/Malay; Italian; Japanese; and Spanish. The report begins by giving an overview of the history of commonwealth language policy and outlining state and territory language policy initiatives. It then describes the current state of LOTE and English language policy and offers some background on the theory of language planning. A chapter is devoted to language policy in the context of business and trade. Explanations of trade patterns with the countries represented by the nine languages are offered here. The final chapter explains the project in which the sociolinguistic profiles were created and summarizes them, focusing on three aspects: the individual languages' role in relation to migration and Australian society; quantitative data resulting from the study; and qualitative data emerging from the study. Results of a student attitude survey are also summarized. Contains 172 references. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

From Language Policy to Language Planning

An Overview of Languages Other Than English in Australian Education

ED 381 001

¿Cómo es tu casa?
VENDO APARTAMENTO, salon comedor, dos dormitorios, cocina, bano, aseo, lavadora, teléfono, enorme terraza.
OCASION: PISO con cuarto de estar grande, comedor, dos dormitorios, cocina, calefaccion, quinta planta, magnifica vistas.
Deutschland, Land in Mitteleuropa
Tipico ambiente fluviale della Pianura Padana

Paulin G. Djité

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Joseph LoBianco

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

NATIONAL LANGUAGES AND LITERACY INSTITUTE OF AUSTRALIA

From Language Policy to Language Planning

An Overview of Languages Other Than English in Australian Education

Paulin G. Djité

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGES & LITERACY INSTITUTE OF AUSTRALIA

National Library of Australia Cataloguing in Publication Data

Djité, Paulin G.
From language policy to language planning.

Bibliography.
ISBN 1 875578 33 1

1. Language policy - Australia. 2. Language and education - Australia. I. National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia. II. Title.

© 1994 National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Limited

306.44994

This work is copyright. Apart from any use permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, no part may be reproduced by any process without the written permission of the NLLIA.

NATIONAL LANGUAGES AND LITERACY INSTITUTE OF AUSTRALIA LTD

Level 2, 6 Campion Street Deakin ACT 2600 Australia
Telephone 06 281 3366 Facsimile 06 281 3096

Table of Contents

Foreword i

Introduction 1

Chapter 1: The Language Policy Context - Commonwealth Perspectives 5

1. 1. Introduction 5

1. 2. Overview of the History of Language Policy in Australia 5

1. 2. 1. Immigration and Language Policies in Historical Perspective 6

1. 2. 2. Origins of Commonwealth Policy 10

1 2. 3. The 1984 Senate Report 17

1. 2. 4. The 1987 Lo Bianco Report 18

1. 3. The Green and White Papers 21

1. 3. 1. The Green Paper 22

1. 3. 2. The White Paper 23

1. 4. Summary 28

Chapter 2: The Language Policy Context - State and Territory Initiatives 29

2. 1. Introduction 29

2. 1. 1. New South Wales 29

2. 1. 2. Victoria 31

2. 1. 3. Queensland 34

2. 1. 4. Western Australia 38

2. 1. 5. South Australia 38

2. 1. 6. Tasmania 41

2. 1. 7. The Australian Capital Territory 42

2. 1. 8. The Northern Territory 43

2. 2. Summary 44

Chapter 3: The Present State of Affairs 49

3. 1. Introduction 49

3. 2. Some Facts and Figures 50

3. 3. LOTE or English? 53

3. 4. Where do we go from here? 58

3. 5. Summary 62

Chapter 4: The Theoretical Framework 63

4. 1. Introduction 63
4. 2. Language Policy and Language Planning: A Definition 63
4. 3. The Fallacy of Language Planning as a Rational Activity 67
4. 4. Summary 70

Chapter 5: Language Policy for a Purpose
The Emphasis on Business and Trade 73

5. 1. Introduction 73
5. 2. LOTE Skills and the Business Community 73
5. 2. 1. The Issue of Proficiency 75
5. 2. 2. The Notion of 'Balance' in the Provision of LOTE 76
5. 3. LOTE Skills and Employment/Career Opportunities 79
5. 4. Aspects of Australian Trade Patterns 82
5. 4. 1. Trade patterns with the Arab World 82
5. 4. 2. Trade Patterns with the Chinese-Speaking World 82
5. 4. 3. Trade Patterns with France and the Francophone World 83
5. 4. 4. Trade Patterns with Germany 84
5. 4. 5. Trade Patterns with Greece and Cyprus 85
5. 4. 6. Trade Patterns with Indonesia 85
5. 4. 7. Trade Patterns with Italy 86
5. 4. 8. Trade Patterns with Japan 86
5. 4. 9. Trade Patterns with the Spanish-Speaking World 87
5. 5. Summary 88

Chapter 6: Language Profiles 89

6. 1. Introduction 89
6. 2. Background of the Nationwide Research Project 89
6. 2. 1. Aim of the Project 91
6. 3. Sociolinguistic Profiles: A Definition 92
6. 3. 1. Linguistic Competence Profiles 92
6. 3. 2. Sociocultural and Historical Profiles 93
6. 3. 3. Comprehensive Sociolinguistic Profiles 94
6. 3. 4. Sociolinguistic Profiles: Relevance and Significance 95
6. 3. 5. Language Attitudes: A Definition 96
6. 4. The Nine Key Languages in Australian Society 98
6. 4. 1. Languages with a long history of migration 98
6. 4. 1. 1. Chinese in Australia 98
6. 4. 1. 2. French in Australia 100
6. 4. 1. 3. German in Australia 100

6. 4. 1. 4. Greek in Australia 102
6. 4. 1. 5. Italian in Australia 103
6. 4. 2. Languages with a recent migration history 105
6. 4. 2. 1. Arabic in Australia 105
6. 4. 2. 2. Indonesian/Malay in Australia 106
6. 4. 2. 3. Japanese in Australia 107
6. 4. 2. 4. Spanish in Australia 108
6. 4. 3. Summary 109
6. 5 The Nine Key Languages in Australian Education Quantitative Data 110
6. 5. 1. Arabic 110
6. 5. 2. Chinese 112
6. 5. 3. French 115
6. 5. 4. German 118
6. 5. 5. Modern Greek 121
6. 5. 6. Indonesian/Malay 124
6. 5. 7. Italian 127
6. 5. 8. Japanese 132
6. 5. 9. Spanish 135
6. 6. Summary 138
6. 7 The Nine Key Languages in Australian Education Qualitative Data 139
6. 7. 1. The transition problem 140
6. 7. 2. Materials and resources 140
6. 7. 3. LOTE Teaching Methodologies 142
6. 7. 4. Teacher Qualifications, Training and Supply 143
6. 8 Students' Attitudes to LOTE 146
6. 8. 1. Design and Administration of the Attitudinal Survey 146
6. 8. 2. Results of the Attitudinal Survey 148
6. 9 Summary 152

Conclusion 155

Selected References 159

Foreword

In 1990 the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia received funding to conduct a major sociolinguistic profiling study of the nine Languages of Wider Teaching, as they were then categorised.

These languages represented the vast bulk of the second language learning effort in Australian education. As such these languages have consumed the greatest proportion of the resources devoted to the teaching of second languages in this country.

In addition to this quantitative rationale for grouping these nine, the following rationale supported this selection:

- that language/teaching efforts are to be harmonised with Australia's economic, national and external policy goals
- that language teaching and learning efforts are to enhance Australia's place in Asia and the Pacific and its capacity to play its role as a full and active member of world forums, and
- that, for planning purposes, resources allocation efforts and the establishment of achievable long-term goals, choices must be made on language issues (*National Policy on Languages* 1987:124).

These nine were seen to combine internally oriented reasons for language study (intercultural, community bilingualism rationales) with perceived externally oriented reasons (economic and international relations rationales) with a pragmatic sense that only a selection from the very many possible languages that could be promoted, should be.

This overview volume of the NLLIA nine languages project performs the important task of deriving generalisations and making policy suggestions from the profiles, which have been published separately.

The profiles address the circumstances of the languages studied. In the overview volume these are compared and contrasted. There emerges a very interesting set of issues and findings about who is choosing to study which language in Australia and for what reasons. These choices have never been documented in this way and they reveal much about motivation, student profiles, materials and curricula, as well as the nature of the programs and the teaching. There is in addition a comparison of the fortunes of the different languages in Australian education since the adoption of Federal policies supporting extensive second language teaching in 1987. The profiles also consider the languages from a more strictly linguistic point of view.

The overview volume draws out the policy and planning implications of the profile studies and includes recommendations and suggestions to improve the place of the teaching of the nine languages. Profiling may well represent a new phase in language policy making in Australia in which we move beyond generic promotion of languages towards detailed considerations of particular languages and plan for them on the basis of what is distinctive about them.

Many people have contributed to bringing this project to a successful conclusion. In particular I would like to thank Dr Richard Baldauf for coordinating the NLLIA side of the project, and Dr Pauline Bryant, Pam Ronan and Desleigh McKay for getting the volume ready for publication. I would also like to thank the referees for their helpful comments on the draft. Finally, it was a pleasure to work with the author, whose first concern was always the quality of the text.

Joseph Lo Bianco
Chief Executive Officer
National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Limited
July 1994.

Introduction

The debate over a national language policy has been a public issue in Australia since the mid-1970s. The subsequent publication of policy documents such as *A National Language Policy*, the report by the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts in October 1984, Lo Bianco's *National Policy on Languages* (NPL) in 1987 and the 1991 *Australian Language and Literacy Policy* (ALLP) have shown the Commonwealth Government's commitment to address the language-related concerns of Australians. Much has been done in terms of the promotion, provision and delivery of languages other than English (LOTE) since the adoption of the NPL. Similar efforts have been made by State and Territory Governments all of whom had developed their own language policies by 1993. As a result, Australia has earned an international reputation as a leader in the area of language policy development.

Nevertheless, although language policy documents are an important step in charting the course of action to be taken, many of these documents often do not set out a clear plan of action to achieve their professed objectives. Language policy decisions have to be carried out and assessed on a continual basis in order to ensure that their stated goals are achieved. It is in this context that the early 1990s represent a watershed in language policy making in Australia. It is generally agreed that, with the adoption of policy recommendations made in the 1987 NPL and the establishment of the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education (AACLAME), Australia entered the more mature phase of language planning implementation. Hence the title of this book, *From Language Policy to Language Planning*.

The purpose of this book is to examine Australia's language policies and resultant language planning decisions at Commonwealth and State/Territory levels. There is no doubt that as Australia's ability to compete in a changing world has in recent years brought the study of LOTEs to the forefront, Australia still faces the challenge of putting into place a more effective language-in-education policy in order to meet its social, intellectual, strategic and economic needs. This challenge has been made all the more difficult since the period between 1986 and 1992 saw a decline in Australia's economic prosperity. However, a new course of action requires an understanding of the state of play of LOTE provision and delivery in Australia. In other words, what is the position of LOTEs at all levels of the education system?

What are the factors promoting or inhibiting the learning of LOTEs? What is the place or role of LOTEs in the language communities and the Australian community at large? What is the economic and strategic relevance of languages spoken within the Australian community?

These issues are discussed in their wider contexts and examined through the insights gained from a summary of the sociolinguistic profiles of the nine 'Languages of Wider Teaching' of the 1987 National Policy on Languages (NPL), namely, Arabic, Chinese (Mandarin), French, German, Modern Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese and Spanish. These languages represent the bulk of the second language learning effort in Australian education. They also combine internal (ie, intercultural, community bilingualism) and external (ie, geographic, economic) reasons for learning languages and are a sub-set of the 14 'priority' languages of the ALLP. From an international perspective (see Chapter 6), most of the nine languages of wider teaching are among the top 15 languages of the world in terms of the number of mother tongue speakers, the top 15 official languages by population and the top nine languages which rate very highly in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

This book argues for a negotiated approach to language policy making and language planning implementation and for decision makers involved in these complex processes to base their decisions on (socio)linguistic data that are reliable and up-to-date.

The first chapter provides an overview of language policy development by the Commonwealth of Australia and describes the language-in-education policies of the States and Territories. The essential message of this chapter is that language issues, under the active leadership of the Commonwealth Government, have emerged from the relative neglect of a few decades ago to attain an unprecedented prominence at the political level.

Chapter 2 discusses the Federal Government's sustained interest in language policy making, building on the 1987 NPL and the International Literacy Year in 1990, and taking into account Australia's ability to compete in a changing world.

Chapter 3 takes a critical look at what has been accomplished over the last decade in terms of language provision and the teaching/learning of LOTE. A decade of language policy making is a long time and Australians can now evaluate the results of their efforts and assess the challenges they still have to face in the area of language-in-education policy. The focus of the chapter is not so much on a celebration of national language policy achievements as it is an attempt to ponder these challenges.

Chapter 4 examines the issues of policy development and planning implementation in the wider context of a theoretical framework. In this context, the NPL and the ALLP demonstrate yet again that language planning is 'the plaything of larger forces' (Fishman 1983b:383) and that it is overly simplistic to define language planning as a rational activity.

Chapter 5 draws on evidence from the *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential: Profiles of Nine Key Languages* series (1993-94) of the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA) to explain the Federal Government's preoccupation with the link between education and economic development. The chapter examines the relevance of language skills to business and career opportunities as well as the notion of 'balance' in the provision of LOTE. The chapter ends with a summary of Australia's trade relationships and trade opportunities in connection with LOTE skills.

Chapter 6 uses the data from the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* to compare and contrast the situation of these languages in Australia, since the adoption of Federal policies supporting extensive second language teaching in 1987. It discusses and brings together a set of issues and findings about the nature of LOTE teaching and learning in Australia in the 1990s and examines the motivations of students who choose to study (or not to study) a language and the reasons for their choices.

I am extremely grateful to Richard B. Baldauf, Jr. for his support and contribution. He has unearthed a substantial number of invaluable papers directly relevant to the main thrust of this book and has generously reacted to early versions of this text by writing helpful critique. I am also indebted to Joseph Lo Bianco. His valuable experience and input have greatly improved the first two chapters. I should also like to acknowledge my debt to the authors and contributors of the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages*. Their work has made it possible to write Chapters 5 and 6 of this book. My sincere thanks as well to the anonymous scholars who reviewed the manuscript. Needless to say, I accept full responsibility for the book's shortcomings. My greatest debt of all is to my children. They have been most graceful in surrendering a lot of quality time we could have spent together to see me complete this book.

Dr Paulin Djité
Department of French Studies
University of Sydney
July 1994

1

The Language Policy Context - Commonwealth Perspectives

When the issue is about language, nothing is simple.
On the contrary, everything becomes quite complex.
- Jean-Claude Perrier

1. 1. Introduction

Over the last several decades several language policies and initiatives have been put in place in Australia. The scope of these documents and the frequency with which they have been produced at all levels of government directly reflect the growing awareness of language issues in the Australian community and the commitment to their place in Australian education.

The focus of this chapter is to provide a brief summary of the Australian language policy context, that is to say, a description of the LOTE policies at State and Territory levels. A matrix of such policies as of mid-1993 is provided. The essential message of this chapter is that language issues have attained a prominence at the political level which is unprecedented historically within Australia and in international terms is impressive at least.

This prominence goes back at least two decades. Before turning to the current basis for specific State and Territory policies, it is useful to set out briefly the general context of the history of language policy in Australia from European settlement in 1788 (see Ozolins 1993 for a detailed analysis of the politics of language in Australia) to the current policy position in the mid 1990s.

In this book, the term 'language policy' refers to policy on languages other than English only since English language issues and language policy and planning in relation to Australian languages are not discussed.

1. 2. Overview of the History of Language Policy in Australia[1]

Whilst Australian (ie, indigenous) languages are LOTEs, they raise important but different issues which go beyond the scope of this book. Nevertheless, it is important to refer briefly to the tradition of Australian multilingualism. There is historical and linguistic evidence that multilingualism was a common feature of language contact among Aborigines in Australia. Prior to the arrival of the British settlers in the late eighteenth century, many Aborigines acquired a 'hearing' knowledge of neighbouring languages, in addition to their own language (see

1 The reader is referred to Ozolins (1984, 1985, 1991 and 1993), Clyne (1991a, 1991b) and Lo Bianco (1991). This section is largely based on their analyses.

Brandle and Walsh 1982). Sommer (1981) states that 'besides mastering their father's tongue, children often learnt three, four or even more of the other languages, at least to the point of good receptive control'.

1. 2. 1. Immigration and Language Policies in Historical Perspective

The overall effect of patterns of social organisation and power was the progressive narrowing of language diversity in Australia. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the promotion of English was more the result of a policy of assimilation and, in times of crisis, social control (eg, the anti-German legislation during the First World War). The assimilation policy aimed at ensuring that migrants would give up their language(s) and culture(s), acquire those of their hosts and, within a generation or two, 'sink into the [Australian] population with barely a trace of foreign origin' (Barnard 1963:595). As pointed out by Fesl (1985), the disappearance of many Aboriginal languages, for example, can be directly attributed to various assimilationist policies which prevailed until very recently. Clyne (1991:13-14) believes that the history of language planning in Australia falls into four phases:

1. The 'accepting but *laissez-faire*' phase, up to the mid-1870s
2. The 'tolerant but restrictive' phase, from the 1870s to the early 1900s
3. The 'rejecting' phase, circa 1914 to circa 1970 and
4. The 'accepting - even fostering' phase, from the early 1970s

In the first phase, no explicit policy existed concerning which language(s) could or could not be used in the education system or the media. In fact, there were many bilingual primary schools and some bilingual secondary schools, mainly in German and English, French and English, or (Scottish) Gaelic and English. By contrast, the 'tolerant but restrictive' phase was marked by the establishment of monolingual English-medium schools with strict limitations placed on the number of hours of instruction in LOTE in the non-Government schools of some States. The 'rejecting' phase coincided with the First World War and its aftermath. It was a period marked by what Clyne calls 'a time of xenophobia accompanied by aggressive monolingual policies'. All children were expected to acquire English by being submerged in English-medium schooling, ethnic newspapers were required to publish sections in English and radio stations were prevented from transmitting in 'foreign languages' for more than 2.5 per cent of their total broadcasting time. All messages in languages other than English had to be translated. Clyne believes that the fourth phase reflects a policy change from 'assimilation' to 'multiculturalism' as all languages used in the Australian community were, to some extent, legitimised. It is during this phase that many positive policies were put in place (eg, ethnic radio (1975) and television (1978),

the Telephone Interpreter Service (1973) and the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (1977)).

Lo Bianco (1990:55-57) analyses the post World War II language policy as falling into four phases. He describes these in terms of the dominant debates of the period in question and what sorts of thinking prevailed in policy making. These are:

1. The *'laissez-faire'* phase
2. The 'rights-equality' phase
3. The 'culturalist or multicultural' phase and
4. The 'polarisation' phase.

Lo Bianco describes the *'laissez-faire'* phase (until 1969) as a period which was characterised by no intervention by the Federal or State/Territory authorities either for mother tongue development or for English as a second language teaching for non-English speaking children. No systematic attempt to teach English as a second language was made during this period because it was assumed that English would be 'picked up'. The dramatic changes described by Clyne's first three stages and by Lo Bianco's 'laissez-faire' stage are worth examining because they cover an important period of this history which is essential to an understanding of the paradigm shift that has taken place and led to present achievements in language policy.

The second phase, according to Lo Bianco, is the 'rights-equality' phase from the late 1960s to mid-1970s. This phase is described as 'a time of much agitation' since language professionals became active in the debate over the adoption of language policy measures and ethnic and Aboriginal groups asserted their rights to language maintenance. Together with activists from the community the objective of language professionals was to force governments to reconcile their education policies with the country's social and ethnic realities. The introduction of ethnic languages in all aspects of Australian life, including the education system, was seen as a 'right' not as a 'privilege' which governments could grant or refuse as they please. The basic premise on which these arguments were mounted was one of equal educational opportunity for children of minority language background in schooling and of adults in the workforce and in society in general.

The 'culturalist' or 'multicultural' phase, which began in the mid-1970s, was the period during which the 'equality' argument was replaced with 'culturalist' explanations of the positions of migrants in Australian society. If the previous phase was a community reaction to government inaction, this phase was

governmental reaction to community agitation. This period witnessed the initiation of multicultural programs on the urging of the Galbally Report (1978) to encourage social harmony and enrichment within an ethnically diverse society. Critics have described this phase as an appropriation of community concern by government but others welcomed it as the beginning point of serious government action for minorities. The policies sometimes stressed the needs of cultural maintenance for minorities but at other times focused more on enrichment and cultural diversity for the whole population.

Lo Bianco, in his last three phases, has given more prominence to the last two decades than has Clyne. Both, however, track the impact of the debates and new views of national identity that have influenced language policy at different periods. For example, Lo Bianco's 'polarisation' phase of the early 1980s has continued in debates to this day though in a rather muted form. It represents a set of divergent priorities between those for whom the major aim of national language policy is to achieve equality for minorities and to enhance their educational and occupational opportunities; and, on the other hand, others who argue the case for language policy as an opportunity for 'mainstream' Australians to learn other languages and learn about other cultures.

From these perspectives, the history of language policy in Australia can therefore be summarised as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: *Major phases in the history of language policies in Australia.*

Clyne (1991a: 13-20)	Lo Bianco (1990b: 55-57)
(1) the 'accepting but *laissez-faire*' phase up to the mid-1870s.	
(2) the 'tolerant but restrictive' phase from the 1870s to the early 1900s.	
(3) the 'rejecting' phase circa 1914 to circa 1970.	(1) the '*laissez-faire*' phase from 1945 until 1969.
(4) the 'accepting - even fostering phase' from the early 1970s	(2) the 'rights-equality' phase - from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s
	(3) the 'culturalist' or 'multicultural' phase - beginning in the mid-1970s.
	(4) the 'polarisation' phase - in the early 1980s

The history of language policy in Australia has also been briefly discussed by Di Biase et al. (1994:5-6) and Eltis (1991:7; note that Eltis uses Ruiz's terminology (cf. Ruiz 1990.) In contrast to both Clyne and Lo Bianco (1990), the history is seen to have gone through three major shifts. These are:

1. The 'language as a problem' (Eltis 1991:7) or 'assimilation' phase (Di Biase et al. 1994:5-6)
2. The 'language as a right' (Eltis 1991:7) or 'multiculturalism' phase (Di Biase et al. 1994:5-6) and
3. The 'language as a resource' (Eltis 1991:7) or 'economic rationalism' phase (Di Biase et al. 1994:5-6).

The 'language as a problem' phase or 'assimilation' phase which lasted until the mid-1970s is described by Eltis as a period during which Australians were hostile to LOTE. Di Biase et al. emphasise the fact that these languages were simply ignored in the school curriculum during this period. This situation began to change in the mid-1970s with the advent of the 'language as right' or 'multiculturalism' phase, as a result of a strong campaign by language professionals and ethnic lobby groups pressing for the recognition of minority languages. The third phase is described as being based on the notion that languages are resources, with an economic emphasis. The descriptions of the first phase by these authors are not detailed and are used basically to refer to this initial historical period. Although they did not elaborate on any of the phases, their labelling and description of the last phase take the descriptions of Clyne (1991) and Lo Bianco (1990) a step further and are interesting and worthy of brief comment. In designating this phase a 'language as a resource' or 'economic rationalism' phase, the authors, quite appropriately, emphasise the prevailing ideology of language policy in the 1990s in Australia (see Chapter 2 for further discussion).

These policy phase descriptions indicate that major shifts in the history of language policy in Australia have occurred. While there may have been no official language policy in the early days of white settlement, direct and forceful decisions were made about language questions, mainly in times of crisis. This was certainly the case at the time of the First World War with the repression of bilingual education in several States and strict regulation of the media. In the early to middle decades of this century the prevailing idea of attachment to the British Empire and later to the Commonwealth had a linguistic aspect in the belief in the strength of English in the world and the rapid assimilation of immigrants into an Anglo-oriented and Anglophone society. Migrants, in so far as they wanted to retain their identity and language(s), were generally perceived as a problem. Consequently, their languages remained marginalised well into the 1970s.

1. 2. 2. Origins of Commonwealth Policy

The development of explicit and strongly pluralistic language policies at the Commonwealth level was brought about by three broad forces whose origins can be traced to the 1960s. The first concerns the education of minority language children, the second the crisis in school and University foreign language study, and the third has to do with the change in the direction of Australia's commercial relationships away from Britain and other English speaking countries and increasingly towards Asian and non-Asian non-English speaking nations. These and other social forces came together in the mid 1980s, culminating in the adoption of a National Policy on Languages that broke with the previous pattern of language issues being treated as a subordinate category to other planning such as migrant settlement.

Since this book only concerns policy on the teaching of languages other than English, it cannot tell the full story. In 1971 the Commonwealth adopted the Immigration (Education) Act explicitly accepting a formal responsibility for the language implications of its constitutional responsibility for immigration. In the early 1970s the Commonwealth embarked on a program of encouraging education in Aboriginal languages in areas of its jurisdiction. In the early to mid 1970s initiatives in interpreting and translating and in other areas added new dimensions to Australian language planning. None of these and other important developments are traced here and yet these had an important impact on the climate of acceptance of language and language related issues as relevant for public policy determination. These developments also had an impact on the ultimate accept-ance by government of the appropriateness of language policy making as a legitimate and natural activity of government and specifically of a positive multilingual policy.

In what follows these broad forces are discussed together although in practice it was not until the mid-1980s that their influence merged and then only for a brief time.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a number of research reports showed the decline in the number of students learning a foreign language and a general feeling of attrition and crisis in LOTE learning/teaching began to emerge (cf. Wykes and King 1968). There were persistent and predictable social inequalities correlated with non-English language ethnicity, especially in terms of occupational and educational prospects that were beginning to emerge as well. By the mid to late 1960s, however, evidence about the poor educational retention of migrant children and agitation in several cities commenced to bring about Federal support programs to assist these children. Migrant communities became increasingly vocal in demanding English language support and ultimately the recognition of the languages that children spoke at home as a bridge to English. Education lobby

groups, teachers' unions, ethnic communities and the Catholic church asked that the Federal Government extend its funding for universities to State school systems and intervene to establish language support programs. Significantly, it was the Minister for Immigration, not the Education Minister, who established the Child Migrant Education Program in 1971 in order to address this issue (Martin 1978:99-111). In 1970 the Federal Government released the Auchmuty report on Asian language teaching which argued that Asian languages at University and other education levels should be accorded 'parity of esteem' with European languages. There was little if any interaction among these forms of claim for public support for language policy at the time and there was no well developed sense that comprehensive languages policies were warranted or even possible.

Nationally, between 1967 and 1976, due to a variety of policies - including the abandonment of the requirement by Universities that students should have studied a language to matriculation for access to certain tertiary courses of study - enrolments in matriculation programs for the study of foreign languages dropped from 40 per cent of the total number of matriculation students to just 16 per cent.

As Ozolins (1991:186) has commented, language professionals argued that unless some decisive action was taken to change course Australia was moving down a path that was going to make the country unable to meet its own language needs for either internal or external communication.

Immigration issues continued to drive language policy well into the 1970s, especially during the first term of the Federal Labor Government led by Gough Whitlam, who came into power in December 1972. Whitlam's Immigration Minister, Al Grassby, championed the view that migrant children who did not speak English could benefit from instruction in their mother tongue and that language study, far from being a problem, could broaden the horizons of all individuals. Grassby established a Migrant Task Force in each State to look at settlement problems, examine post-arrival services and the adequacy of these services to migrants. These Migrant Task Forces made a number of recommendations in the area of education and language services (June 1973 and February 1974). They argued for instance that 'our society will have to accept the fact that English is not the only language spoken in Australia' (South Australian Migrant Task Force 1973:10) and that 'opportunities should be available for all children - Australian born as well as overseas born - to learn [languages other than English]!' (Australia, Migrant Task Forces 1974:7). The Task Forces also recommended that steps should be taken to integrate ethnic schools into the education system, and to support the language maintenance function of these schools (Australia, Migrant Task Forces 1974:7). Soon after these recommendations, initiation of a study into migrant languages in the school system was announced.

By then, the continuing decline of languages other than English learning and teaching in the education system had led to an enduring sense of crisis and it had become abundantly clear that there was a need for a political response to strengthen the place of languages other than English in Australian education. Migrant communities in Sydney and Melbourne organised themselves as Ethnic Communities Councils (ECCs) and, at their conference of October 1973, issued a detailed 'Statement on Immigration Education, Culture and Language' making the point that Australian schools and universities did not address the issue of cultural diversity and that, as a consequence, migrant children were at a disadvantage. One year later, another migrant organisation, Migrant Education Action, called for 'the right of migrants to retain and develop their own cultures and languages in what is now a pluralistic society' (Migrant Education Action Committee 1975). This sense of crisis about the decline in the learning/teaching of languages other than English led to intensified calls for teaching migrant children about their own culture and language and, whenever possible, in their own language.

The Federal Government responded by taking a number of important initiatives, such as the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (CTMLS). The Schools Commission, established in the early 1970s, was the main educational policy advisory body of the Federal Government, with the role of recommending on the allocation of Federal funds for various school systems. This signalled a much more interventionist Commonwealth role in education. In a 1975 report for the 1976-8 triennium, the Commission argued that many migrant children were growing up not speaking English and that 'a full range of educational experience' had to be envisaged for them, including 'multilingual bridging schools ... where general education could be continued in the home language ...', in order to reflect the multicultural reality of Australian society. Most importantly, the Commission made the point that 'problems of language were ... not a matter of ethnicity alone', but were also a matter 'for all Australian children growing up in a society which could be greatly enriched through a wider sharing in the variety of cultural heritages now present in it'. The Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools was established to undertake a quantitative assessment of resources, provision and needs in the teaching of migrant languages. The Committee surveyed all secondary and ethnic schools and a number of primary schools and showed that, in 1975, although 15 per cent of all Australian primary school children came from bilingual homes where at least one parent had a mother tongue other than English or an Aboriginal language, only 1.4 per cent were studying their native language at school. In its report, it found that, while these children learned to communicate in English fairly quickly, their home language was ignored and the possibility of becoming literate in both languages was neglected. The Committee argued that 'there were strong educational and social reasons for

[bilingual children] continuing the learning of their own language, in addition to English, in the earliest years of schooling' and that this neglect was 'detrimental to the child's education and is an irrevocable loss to the developing multicultural society'. The Committee urged closer cooperation between ethnic schools and day primary schools to promote the study of migrant languages and cultures. The Committee's findings on secondary schools were that few migrant languages, other than Italian, were taught, and only 10 per cent of all bilingual students could study their mother tongue in secondary schools. This report gained considerable publicity when Migrant Education Action decided to make it the focus of its May 1977 conference with the theme 'Migrant Languages - Many Promises, No Action' to focus its case on the lack of government response to the report, and made recommendations along the lines of the issues it had covered (eg, bilingual education, choice of languages, and the need for schools to respond to migrant languages and cultures).

The importance of these immigration/language education policy issues, their political relevance and the significant commitment made at the Federal level under the Whitlam Government meant that they were to remain on the agenda when the Liberal Party came to power in 1975. The growing criticism in political and academic circles regarding the Government's handling of immigration and ethnic affairs led Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser to announce the Galbally Committee of inquiry on 30 August 1977. The brief of the Galbally Committee was to survey the total range of post-arrival services as they affected the social welfare of migrants. The report of the Committee which examined the implications of multiculturalism for all migrant-related policies specifically attempted to place language policy issues within the totality of government services for migrants. Because of its far reaching recommendations the report met with broad approval. The report acknowledged that the migrant population was at a social disadvantage, mainly because of English language difficulties. Thus it identified important programs in areas such as multilingual information services, counselling, English language skills, interpreting services to access the legal system, health services, etc. The report urged the Government to respond to these needs and warned about the 'social dangers inherent in any policy designed to repress cultural diversity and enforce assimilation'.

In less than a decade, from 1972 to 1977-8, official attitudes concerning the rights, cultures and languages of immigrant communities and of Aborigines had undergone important changes. The Fraser Government's commitment to this new language policy paved the way for the policy of multiculturalism. The Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs was established in 1979 and one of its most important initiatives was the establishment of Federal Government support for ethnic schools. Following Labor's win at the 1983 Federal election, the policy of

multiculturalism was to become a favourite theme of the Hawke Government. Multiculturalism under the Hawke Government came to be seen as a social ideal with three dimensions (*National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia - The Year in Review August 1989 - July 1990* 1990:69). These are:

1. Cultural identity
2. Social justice
3. Economic efficiency.

Essentially this view has persisted under the Keating Government as well. Multiculturalism, although it appears secure in government policy priorities, continues to be a controversial ideology (cf. Knopfelmacher 1982, Martin 1983, Blainey 1984, Castles et al. 1988, Kalantzis et al. 1989, Cope et al. 1991). To this extent, the fortunes of language policy, in so far as it was linked to ethnic communities and to multiculturalism, have been dependent upon the effects of the ideological debate over the relevance of multiculturalism to social cohesion.

These major initiatives of the Federal Government were supplemented by other reports such as the report of the Working Party on Language and Linguistics of the Australian Universities Commission (May 1975), the report of the Schools Commission's McNamara Committee (1979) and the *Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education* (1980) of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs. By 1978, it had become possible to speak about and advocate a language policy. Some States, Victoria and New South Wales in particular, were already making headway in putting in place language-in-education policies that attempted to integrate migrant languages into the system. These encouraging signs spurred on ethnic communities and language professionals in their activism for the recognition of a wider range of language needs and issues. The Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia (FECCA), the Linguistics Society of Australia (LSA), the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia (ALAA) and the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers' Associations (AFMLTA) through their journal *Babel* led the call for a policy which would explicitly set out a rationale for second language education (Ozolins 1985:290).

As noted earlier other developments calling for the targeting of Asian languages were occurring too. The Auchmuty report and earlier initiatives (see McKay 1990) had targeted Asia foreign language teaching as a priority largely using arguments about geographical proximity and geo-political concerns. As the economic consequences of Britain's accession to the European Community became clear, economic or more specifically trade rationales came to be added to these arguments. In the debates, these issues travelled alongside multicultural politics and policy until they emerged forcefully in the early 1980s and have since become

the key driving force of policy debates. Significantly, in 1986 the Federal Government established the Asian Studies Council responsible to Ministers for Education and Trade. This linkage has remained clear ever since (cf. COAG report) and has been a major part of the persuasive strength of advocacy in this area (see Lo Bianco 1990:83-4). In its National Strategy the Asian Studies Council made a very direct link between national economic interest, language skills and cultural knowledge and took forward a pattern of associating trade and language learning, particularly foreign language learning, that has since become standard in the field.

The concern about the decline in LOTE study at the matriculation level was soon to combine with the economic interest and the ethnic-multicultural interest to produce strong political pressure for government intervention. From 1978, some professional language associations engaged in direct political lobbying by forwarding proposals to government to address language teaching problems, even though the Federal Government did not have explicit responsibility for education. The creation and active role of the Schools Commission had led to a widespread view that change could be effected via the Commonwealth when it was not possible to gain this via State action.

One proposal was a submission on the establishment of a National Language Information and Research Centre (NLIRC) to coordinate and disseminate research in language policy development. The second proposal was a submission sent directly to Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser in the same year (1978) by the then President of the Australian Linguistic Society, Ray Cattell. This submission pointed out that Australians were still predominantly monolingual, restricting their ability to communicate with fellow Australians - migrants and Aborigines - and with the outside world. It urged the Prime Minister to establish 'a committee to investigate linguistic problems in Australia and possible ways of solving them' for:

> What is really required is the commitment by the key decision-makers in our society. We would like to see the Government seeking to influence career structures both in the public service and elsewhere so that foreign language skills might be accorded key priority as a criterion in determining promotion (Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts 1982-83, Submission 1139; also quoted in Ozolins 1993:208).

By the early 1980s the newly formed FECCA, responding to its education committee comprised of ESL teachers, teacher union members and others connected to education in advisory positions, began to discuss the need for a coherent national policy on language matters to address the many reports of the previous decade.

Language professionals also formed a coalition encompassing a number of language issues including languages other than English, Aboriginal languages, English as a Second Language and Australia's dominant language. At ALAA's 1981 Canberra Congress, this coalition resulted in the formation of a political lobby, the Professional Languages Association for a National Language Policy (PLANLangPol) (August 1981), comprising ALAA, the ALS, the Aboriginal Languages Association, the Australian Association for the Teaching of English, the AFMLTA and the Australian Universities Language and Literature Association (AULLA). PLANLangPol later published a detailed report, with recommendations, entitled *A National Language Policy for Australia* (1983) and was instrumental in setting the agenda for language policy making in Australia. The coalition provided the politicians with the arguments needed to put the case for a national language policy (Lo Bianco 1991:186-88). Some of these arguments were based on the UNESCO Report (UNESCO 1953, 1968) which recommended, *inter alia*, that the mother tongue of children be given priority as the medium of instruction. That recommendation read as follows:

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (UNESCO 1953:11).

Although language professional associations were by now having some influence in the language policy debate, organised ethnic community lobbying was the main factor influencing government to take action. At its third Annual Conference in 1981, FECCA debated the issue of a national language policy. As a result, national language policy conferences/seminars were held around Australia and culminated in a major conference in Canberra in early 1982. The conferences created a very strong momentum and pressure for a coordinated approach to language policy and stimulated the Government to respond by setting up a Senate Inquiry into the matter.

As FECCA was gearing up for its 1982 National Conference, the Federal Department of Education issued a paper on a National Language Policy as a preliminary advice to Ministers for a response to public demand. The working group of this project prepared and published a document entitled *Towards a National Language Policy* (Australia, Department of Education 1982). The document which considered language as a 'resource' covered issues related to languages other than English for internal and external reasons, English as a national language, English as a mother tongue, as well as literacy and plain English. The document stressed

the need for coordination in setting up and carrying out this proposed national language policy and was looking to find the appropriate vehicle that would help articulate these concerns at the policy making level.

It was in the context of this advocacy for better management of Australia's linguistic resources by ethnic communities, language professional associations and the Federal bureaucracy itself that the matter of a national language policy was referred to the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts (SSCEA).

1. 2. 3. The 1984 Senate Report[2]

The Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts received its terms of reference on 25 May 1982. It was asked to look into a wide range of issues in collecting and assembling a comprehensive picture of language planning in Australia and considering the adequacy or otherwise of the resources available.

The Senate inquiry into language policy began its public hearings on 24 September 1982 in all States and Territories and completed them on 31 October 1983. It received some 230 submissions from various groups including the Department of Education, PLANLangPol and FECCA. Its report, *A National Language Policy*, published in October 1984, concluded that a national approach to language policy was not only justified but necessary, and that such a policy should be developed and co-ordinated at the national level on the basis of the following four guiding principles:

1. Competence in English
2. Maintenance and development of languages other than English
3. Provision of services in languages other than English and
4. Opportunities for learning second languages.

The report, which was essentially a data gathering exercise, issued 114 recommendations and reaffirmed the position of English as Australia's 'national' language. It also proposed a campaign to alleviate adult illiteracy and recommended pre-service English skills courses for intending teachers. On the issue of priority languages, the report argued for a 'more even distribution of activity across a broader range of languages' and suggested 'purely on an indicative basis' that Japanese, Indonesian and Chinese among the Asian languages, and French, German, Spanish, Arabic and perhaps Russian among international languages, and two or three Aboriginal languages (determined after consultation with Aboriginal groups) could be retained as priority languages. However, the report also stressed the importance of catering for smaller languages.

---

2 The Senate inquiry was initiated by the government of Malcolm Fraser and strongly supported by Liberal Senator Baden Teague who became the initial Chair. The Inquiry survived a change of government in 1983 and continued under Labor Senator Mal Colston as Chair

Issued in December 1984, the Senate report was never acted on nor was there even an official reply from the Government to it. This produced a reinvigorated public concern since very high expectations of the Senate report had been held by professional associations, ethnic and Aboriginal community groups and others. Despite assembling important and very useful information, the Senate report fell short of proposing a policy, recommending rather that one should be developed.

Several internal departmental attempts to develop a policy from the Senate report by linking the Education and the Immigration portfolios in joint work failed because they were rejected by the community. Two and a half years after the completion of the report intense lobbying commenced for a national language policy. In July 1986, the Minister of Education appointed Joseph Lo Bianco to work on such a document. Given the lapse of time, a great deal of the formal consultation process with Aboriginal, ethnic community, State and Territory Governments and professional and commercial interest groups had to recommence. Thus the stage was set for a more definitive national policy on languages.

1. 2. 4. The 1987 Lo Bianco Report

The Lo Bianco report (*National Policy on Languages*) was publicly endorsed by Prime Minister Hawke on 26 April 1987, tabled in the Senate in May 1987 and subsequently released. In June 1987 it received the formal endorsement of Cabinet, thereby becoming the first official national language policy in Australia. The scope of the National Policy on Languages (NPL) was comprehensive and aimed at:

1. overcoming of injustices, disadvantages and discrimination related to language
2. cultural and intellectual enrichment
3. integration of language teaching/learning with Australia's external needs and priorities
4. provision of clear expectations to the community about language in general and about language-in-education in particular and
5. support for component groups of Australian society (ethnic communities, the communication impaired, Aboriginal groups) for whom language issues are very important (Lo Bianco 1987:189).

While stressing that languages were not an issue for ethnic communities alone and warranted attention for broader cultural and geo-political reasons, the report emphasised the place of languages in the education system. It acknowledged the primacy of English but also argued for the upgrading of language teaching, for

language qualifications for those in trade and diplomacy and for second language competence as a factor in selection for tertiary study. The report suggested that all Australian students undertake some study of Aboriginal culture and learn about Aboriginal languages and their central place in culture. The latter recommendations were proposed to Lo Bianco by Aboriginal communities across Australia who wanted to have their languages recognised by all Australians. In the area of LOTE two broad categories of languages were identified:

1. The languages used in the Australian community where language maintenance and bilingual education were advocated, and
2. Nine 'languages of wider teaching', namely Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, French, German, Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese, and Spanish, for which second language teaching was proposed in addition to any maintenance or immersion programs that could be supported.

The NPL proposed an Australian Second Language Learning Program (ASLLP) with an allocation of $7.5 million a year for three years and a number of key centres for teaching and research. Along the lines of a proposal made to the Government by professional language associations in the late 1970s as discussed above the report made a key recommendation for the establishment of an Advisory Council on Australia's Language Policy (ACALP) (Lo Bianco 1987:185) which would, among other things, serve as 'a forum for discussion of language issues', 'coordinate national activities on language issues' and 'provide advice to government on the implementation and further development of the national policy on languages'. The Government established the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education (AACLAME) instead, but this Advisory Council's terms of reference did not differ much from those of the proposed ACALP.

Between 1987-88 and 1990-91, the Commonwealth Government allocated approximately $94 million for the implementation of a number of key programs of the NPL. The main ones included:

1. The Multicultural and Cross-Cultural Supplementation Program for training professionals and para-professionals in cross-cultural communication and languages for special purposes
2. The National Aboriginal Languages Program
3. The Asian Studies Program
4. The Australian Second Language Learning Program
5. The Adult Literacy Action Campaign, and
6. The English as a Second Language for New Arrivals Program.

These programs and several other related initiatives have continued to influence policy, eg, the first study of the incidence of adult literacy difficulties in the wider population, the review of the teaching of languages in higher education (Leal report), the review of the training of languages teachers (Nicholas report), the nine key languages report, the ESL Bandscales, the Australian Language Levels Projects, the National Assessment Framework for Languages at the Senior Secondary Level and the National Asian Languages Curriculum Projects. In most cases these were the first explicit and large scale language policy commitments and represent breakthroughs in policy that are still in force today.

As it turned out, AACLAME did not administer all of these programs. The Asian Studies Program, for example, was administered by the Asian Studies Council while the National Aboriginal Languages Program was carried out by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, with some input from AACLAME. In response to advice from AACLAME the Federal Minister for Employment, Education and Training established the National Languages Institute of Australia (NLIA) in June 1989.

The NLIA, with distributed components around the country, is the government's key centre for language teaching and research and has a broad charter to 'contribute to improving the quality of language education in keeping with the goals and principles of the NPL and Australia's social, economic and cultural needs'. Its aim is to conduct research in the provision and delivery of Australia's language resources. The NLIA commenced work on many aspects of these key programs in June 1990. It is currently constituted of some thirty research and project sites across Australia. The function of these Centres and Units is to conduct and disseminate the results of research in their key areas of specialisation.

The NPL by putting in place the necessary framework to address some of the language related issues raised in the late 1970s and early 1980s, by setting in motion a number of research projects and by carrying out a number of programs which were endorsed and funded by the Government, started the most important process of turning language policy making into language planning implementation. This is why it is universally perceived as the cornerstone of language policy and planning in Australia.

This brief overview of the history of language policy in Australia shows that Australia has come a long way in trying to address the issues of language in society. The Federal Government began work on development of the national policy that would continue and reinforce the work that had already been accomplished. In this context, the work of the Asian Studies Council had heightened awareness of the large task needing to be undertaken to adequately prepare teachers of Asian

languages and had initiated important curriculum work under the Asian Studies Program. The Ingleson report, *Asia in Higher Education: Report of the Inquiry Into the Teaching of Asian Studies and Languages in Higher Education* (1989), was commissioned by the Asian Studies Council as an investigation into the situation of Asian studies and languages in higher education institutions across Australia. This report stressed the importance of Australia's becoming an 'Asia-literate' nation. It recommended that to achieve this goal, professional faculties, especially teacher education faculties, should introduce the study of Asian countries and languages in their programs. The report also suggested that by 1993 language study in Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian should be available on every campus in every State. Several options to increase the proficiency of tertiary students of Asian languages were offered.

Another important study, the Stanley et al. report, *The Relationship between International Trade and Linguistic Competence* (Stanley et al. 1990) commissioned by AACLAME, was to have an effect on subsequent developments in policy. This report was part of a series of activities sponsored by AACLAME to consider the relationship between business and languages education. This report looked at Australia's international competitiveness in relation to language issues and found that Australia accounts for only 1 per cent of world trade and has a limited penetration of world markets. The report pointed out that a frequent response from firms surveyed to establish whether they saw LOTE skills as relevant to their activities was that English was the language of international trade and that 'they all speak English anyway'.

The Leal report, *Widening our Horizons: Report of the Review of the Teaching of Modern Languages in Higher Education* (1991), also commissioned by AACLAME and conducted under the auspices of the NLLIA, complements the work undertaken by the earlier Ingleson Inquiry (mentioned above) by focusing on all languages in higher education.

1. 3. The Green and White Papers

Although many of the State/Territory policies were based on the NPL, the debate over the provision of LOTEs did not rest with this policy alone and 'government ideologies of economic rationalism' tried to influence the direction of policy (Ozolins 1993:250). Driven in part by these ideologies and looking to capitalise on the lessons learnt from the experience of participating in the International Literacy Year in 1990, the Federal Government gave language policy in Australia a new impetus in 1990-91 with the publication of two major documents: *The Language of Australia: Discussion Paper on an Australian Literacy and Language Policy for the 1990s*

(also referred to as the Green Paper) and *Australia's Language: The Australian Language and Literacy Policy* (also referred to as the White Paper). The next two sections provide a critical overview of these two documents and of other language-related reports published around the same period.

1. 3. 1. The Green Paper [3]

With the expiration of AACLAME's political mandate, the Federal Government began to canvas options through a Green Paper entitled *The Language of Australia: Discussion Paper on an Australian Literacy and Language Policy for the 1990s* (released in December 1990), on how further developments could be made. Clyne (1991) traces some of these developments as do Ozolins (1993) and Ingram (1993). The Green paper clearly recognised that, if Australia had 'gotten by' in the past with English, this was no longer possible in the 1990s, mainly for economic reasons (DEET 1990:9). The position taken in the paper from the outset was that:

> We have arrived at a critical point in our language history ... It is time to focus and consolidate our efforts and to build on the achievements of the National Policy on Languages in the development of the Australian Literacy and Language Policy (DEET 1990:ix).

The stated aim of the paper was to review the language and literacy needs of Australia as most programs funded under the NPL and ILY were coming to an end (June 1991). This review would lead to a 'fine-tuned' national strategy for the promotion of literacy and language learning, building upon the achievements of the National Policy on Languages and the lessons learnt from the International Literacy Year in 1990. This 'fine-tuning' would reflect recent developments in terms of language needs and make the literacy and language policy more 'relevant, efficient and effective'.

The most prominent critic of the Green paper was Helen Moore who wrote a much publicised article entitled 'Enchantments and Displacements: Multiculturalism, Language Policy and Dawkins-speak' (Moore 1991:45-85) in which she described the Green Paper as 'a reversal of achievements ... since the early 1970s' (p. 46) and as a 'completely crisis-driven and instrumental [paper] in its search for quick solutions and attempts at disguised cost-saving' that 'shows no understanding of how Australia's "language resources" might actually be used to the nation's economic benefit' (p. 56). According to Moore, the Green Paper is in fact a result of the ongoing shift in 'enchantments' with different aspects of language education, namely: English as a second language, multiculturalism, marketing English to overseas students, languages other than English, Asian

3 The reader is referred to Moore (1991:45-85) for a detailed and critical analysis of the Green paper. This discussion is based in part on her paper.

languages and literacy. She writes that, 'As a part of this process, "language" displaces "languages", "foreign languages" displaces "languages other than English", "literacy" subsumes "English as a second language" and "literacy in other languages" is obliterated' (p. 55).

As Ozolins points out in his *The Politics of Language in Australia*, the problem had already been raised by FECCA in October 1982 when, concerned over the status of English in a National Language Policy and the possible misinterpretations of what such policy could entail, it decided to change the wording of 'National Language Policy' to 'National Policy on Languages' (Ozolins 1993:224). Ozolins echoes a number of Moore's concerns and describes the Green Paper as 'a document which, in an intellectual and policy sense, probably marks the nadir of Australian language policy in recent years'. He notes its attempt to reduce the four goals stipulated by the NPL to three, thus leaving out a most important goal, that of language services.

The Green Paper was essentially a discussion paper that did not 'intend to define established policy' but to 'encourage community consideration of the issues' in order to 'inform the preparation of the Policy Information Paper ('White Paper') setting out the Government's policy' (DEET, Foreword 1990). It was widely circulated by DEET for consultation across Australia. Much of the adverse reaction to the Green Paper was probably meant as a strategy to fend off any possible reversal of the NPL commitment on the part of the Commonwealth Government.

1. 3. 2. The White Paper [4]

After a series of consultations and the receipt of some 300 submissions the Federal Government issued the Policy Information Paper *Australia's Language: The Australian Language and Literacy Policy* (the White Paper) in September of 1991. The ALLP received Commonwealth Government support in the August 1991 budget and expenditure under its programs commenced in 1992.

In the preparation of the White Paper the Government made significant changes to many of the positions advanced in the Green Paper (Ozolins 1993:254). Minister Dawkins, whose initiative the policy review process had been, commented that the review reflected the Government's commitment to 'maintain and develop' the National Policy on Languages, to review the Ethnic Schools Program and incorporate the lessons learned from Australia's participation in the International Literacy Year - 1990 (DEET 1991b:iii). The basic policy position of the White Paper is, first and foremost, that Australians become 'literate' and 'articulate' in 'Australian English, our national language' (DEET, Foreword, 1991b:iii). The

4 The reader is referred to Clyne (1991:13-20), Ingram (1991:4-14) and Nicholas (1992:25-30) for detailed analyses of the White paper. This section is largely based on their analyses.

importance of LOTEs is also recognised:

> Proficiency in our national language, Australian English, is obviously necessary for an individual to participate as fully as possible in Australian society. But as important as proficiency in Australian English is for Australians, we also need to enhance our ability to communicate with the rest of the world. We must increase our strength in languages other than English in order to both enrich the intellectual and cultural vitality of our population, and to help secure our future economic well-being. Our multilingual population invests us with valuable linguistic resources. But we must not rely simply on the skills of those who are already bilingual. Many more Australians need to learn a second language (DEET, Foreword, 1991b:iii-iv).

The four goals of the Australian Language and Literacy Policy are:

1. All Australian residents should develop and maintain a level of spoken and written English which is appropriate for a range of contexts, with the support of education and training programs addressing their diverse learning needs
2. The learning of languages other than English must be substantially expanded and improved to enhance educational outcomes and communication within both the Australian and international community
3. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages should be maintained and developed where they are still transmitted. Other languages should be assisted in an appropriate way, for example, through recording. These activities should only occur where the speakers so desire and in consultation with their community, for the benefit of the descendants of their speakers and for the nation's heritage
4. Language services provided through interpreting and translating, print and electronic media and libraries should be expanded and improved.

The White Paper identifies fourteen languages as priority languages, including the nine Languages of Wider Teaching listed in the Lo Bianco report. The priority languages include languages of significant ethnic communities such as Aboriginal languages, Italian, German, Greek, Spanish and Vietnamese, and six languages of regional and economic importance: Chinese, Indonesian/Malay, Japanese, Korean, Russian and Thai. The remaining two languages, Arabic and French, are languages that are also relevant for economic or cultural reasons but are less salient community languages.

The White Paper's rationale for this list of priority languages is that:

> It is not feasible to expect that all languages [spoken in the community] can be taught on an Australia-wide basis. Nor is it desirable, given limited teaching, curriculum and financial resources, to spread them thinly in an attempt to accommodate all interests. Some concentration of effort is required (DEET 1991a:16).

A key proposal of the ALLP is that each State and Territory must identify eight of these fourteen priority languages as its own priority languages. The Commonwealth Government offers special funding of $300 per Year 12 student enrolled in one of these priority languages, up to a ceiling of 25 per cent of the Year 12 population who completed a LOTE in the preceding school year.

A key stated aim of the ALLP is to substantially increase Australia's LOTE skills. One of its targets is that 25 per cent of Year 12 students will be learning a language by the year 2000. This had also been the target set by the Australian Second Language Learning Program of the National Policy on Languages and reflects much of the 'carry over' that occurred between the two. Other steps to provide incentives and increase the availability of language learning were taken.

The ALLP also established new advisory mechanisms to replace the AACLAME, the Asian Studies Council (ASC), and the National Consultative Council for International Literacy Year, all of whose mandate expired on 30 June 1991. The replacement bodies include:

1. The Australian Language and Literacy Council chaired by Mr Rodney Cavalier, set up under the National Board of Employment, Education and Training, to provide policy advice, establish links between all relevant sectors (eg, education and industry), and to monitor and advise on the effectiveness of the ALLP
2. The Asia in Australia Council, to advise on education, employment, and training priorities for fostering Australian-Asian links, on ways of raising national awareness of Asia, to promote information exchange on Asian-Australian links, and to encourage the education of 'Asia-competent' leaders especially for industry, and
3. The Asia Education Foundation, an independent body to promote the study of Asia across the curriculum in Australian schools.

Under the ALLP changes were effected to the mandate of the NLIA and its name was changed. The National Languages Institute of Australia Limited became the

National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Limited (NLLIA) and was provided additional funding to expand its work in English and literacy to address a range of matters to do with Australian English, Plain English and style, child literacy and ESL and adult literacy.

The expanded Charter of the Institute states its mission as follows:

> The National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Limited will contribute to improving the quality and the relevance of language and literacy education in keeping with the goals of the Australian Language and Literacy Policy and Australia's economic, social and cultural needs, drawing on the experience gained under the National Policy on Languages.

In addition, the NLLIA also works cooperatively with the Style Council run by the Dictionary Research Centre at Macquarie University.

Through the ALLP the Commonwealth Government makes a significant contribution to the maintenance and development of Australia's language resources. Nevertheless, many language professionals (eg, Clyne 1991:18-19, Ingram 1991, and Nicholas et al. 1993:25-30) point to a number of deficiencies or omissions in this new policy. These authors argue that, when compared with the NPL of which it is an extension, the ALLP's expressed concern is essentially limited to language-in-education policy, rather than a comprehensive national language policy. Ingram criticises its 'insufficient acknowledgment of the continuing importance of the multicultural goals enunciated through the 1970s' and expresses his fear that the Government may in fact be resiling from its 1987 policy (Ingram 1991:5), while Clyne (1991:13-20), in his paper entitled 'Australia's language policies: Are we going backwards?' points out that 'the concept of multiculturalism is not mentioned'. Clyne also claims that there is a 'change in balance in the national languages policy', and that this change is a sign that 'the pendulum may have swung slightly away from multilingualism'. This, in his view, is a 'backward step'.

Beyond this criticism, many language professionals felt that the most important problem with the ALLP was its strong emphasis on languages considered to be economically significant. They point out the introduction to the policy which states:

> Global economic forces are demanding changes in the structure of Australian industry, in our ability to compete in world markets, and in our readiness to adapt to new jobs, new career structures, and new technologies. These changes will require new skills in communication, understanding, and cultural awareness, in the workplace as much as in the international marketplace. They will also place added pressures on our education and training systems (DEET 1991a:1).

This statement is reinforced in the Companion Volume of the policy as follows:

> Combined with other vocational skills, language knowledge can improve employability. However, there have been relatively few attempts to integrate language study with other vocational training or to develop vocationally relevant language courses. Yet the vocational relevance of languages is an increasingly important motivation for language study (DEET 1991b:62).

The goals of the Policy were endorsed by most State and Territory Ministers and form the overall framework for schools level planning and cooperation in LOTE and some other areas. The ALLP, then, represents the current state of play in language policy at the Federal level. However, policy is never a stable matter and recent developments such as the creation of the Australian National Training Authority and the transfer to it of responsibility for some labour market programs as well as the adoption of the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) report on Asian Languages and Australia's Economic Future change both the policy environment and priorities and balances it contains. It is too early to tell how these will impact on provision and on debates and understandings of the field but they are clearly in the tradition identified above in the early 1970s of the three forces of continuous influence on language policy: the lobbying for language-defined minorities' rights, the foreign language professionals interests, and the perceived commercial and economic relevance of languages.

A further development related to the latter (ie, the commercial and economic relevance of languages) was recently reflected in a report tabled in Parliament in early 1994 which concluded that it 'did not find evidence of a demand by business and industry for large numbers of people skilled in other languages' and that proficiency in a language other than English does not determine the success of business and industry. Although it acknowledged that Australian industry, if it is to be successful, must be able to understand and communicate effectively and convincingly with the rest of the world, the report of the Australian Language and Literacy Council (ALLC) entitled *Speaking of Business: The Needs of Business and Industry for Language Skills* criticises what it calls a 'mischief' about the 'exaggerated' economic importance of language which it rejects as a 'nonsense' (p. vii). Business people do not place a premium on language and not one of those interviewed in the study ranked language as an important qualification. The report claims that 'English is now an Asian language' and that 'an advantage for Australia in Asia is that it is an English-speaking country' (pp. 9-10).

Furthermore, the report criticises the ability of the school system to deliver language proficiency. It claims that 'Many university language departments continue to pay too little attention to developing high levels of proficiency or

assessing it' and that 'schools and universities are not producing large numbers of students proficient in languages'.

It should be noted that this debate is not new. The Auchmuty report on the Teaching of Asian Languages and Cultures (Auchmuty 1971) indicated a widespread interest (from government departments, banks, etc) in the availability of the study of Asian languages and cultures in Australian education. However, it pointed out that

> with a few significant exceptions, almost all business people involved in trade with Asia considered that they would have no immediate requirement for staff members fluent in a particular Asian language. Some added to that their belief that English would become, if it is not already, the official business language of Asia (Auchmuty 1971:17).

The Auchmuty report did note at the time that it had difficulty accepting this view of business people 'in view of the actions being taken by some Asian countries to foster national languages' (Auchmuty 1971:17-8).

1. 4. Summary

These and other reports underline the general desire and willingness to move beyond the 'blinkered' advocacy of the past and onto the stage of informed decision-making in language policy and language planning. As can be seen, some of these reports underscore the importance of economic issues, indicating that the implementation stage of policy confronts policy-makers with hard questions and difficult decisions that have to be made if the stated objectives of the policy are to be met and if the policy is to be successful. Others such as the report of the ALLC question the link between economics and languages.

2

The Language Policy Context - State and Territory Initiatives

2. 1. Introduction

Australia has a Federal system of government whereby the States and Territories have control over education and other matters. Language-in-education policy making is thus dependent on State/Territory initiatives. This chapter describes the more important language policy decisions taken by States/Territories from the early 1970s.

There has been much Commonwealth Government policy making in the last decade (eg, SSCEA 1984, Lo Bianco 1987, DEET 1991 a and b). There have also been, and continue to be, a number of cooperative Federal and State/Territory LOTE education projects (see for example White, Baker and de Jong (1992) for descriptions of ASLLP projects, the 1991 Asian Studies Council report for lists of curriculum and professional development activities and the National Language Curriculum Project). However the development and implementation of language-in-education policies have basically been a State/Territory responsibility. These policy decisions are outlined in the sections which follow.

2. 1. 1. New South Wales

There was no language policy in New South Wales until the late 1980s. The Wyndham reforms of the early 1960s made it difficult to teach LOTEs in the first year of secondary school and effectively precluded the possibility of teaching more than one language for the remainder of secondary schooling and, in the early 1970s, LOTEs were reported to be in an 'alarming state of decline' in New South Wales (Robinson 1973:1; also see Croft and Macpherson (1991a:89-108 and 1991b:35-58) for further information).

New South Wales like other States established a State Multicultural Education Committee as part of the Commonwealth Multicultural Education Program. The State also set up an Ethnic Affairs Commission (EAC) in 1978. In announcing the policy of the State in this regard, Premier Neville Wran made the point that 'children's first language is a valuable resource' and claimed that this was 'an opportunity to make thousands of our children truly bilingual' (Rudnick 1977:3, cited in Ozolins 1993:130). The first report published by the Ethnic Affairs Commission argued for breaking 'those barriers which prevent interaction among all children, be they overseas or Australian born' and made extensive

recommendations for the recognition of cultural values and the teaching of the languages of migrants. These proposals were clearly in line with the new official discourse on ethnic communities and the way in which migrant-related issues were now going to be addressed in the State.

In the late 1980s, the New South Wales Department of Education published a White Paper on curriculum reform entitled *Excellence and Equity* (1989). Although this is not a language policy document *per se*, it states that:

> The Government's goal is for every student to have access to two years of language study in the junior secondary school and for a substantially greater number of students than at present to pursue in-depth, specialist study of priority languages throughout their whole secondary schooling (*Excellence and Equity* 1989:42)

and, according to recommendation 42:

> While the Government schools system will be encouraged to phase in implementation from 1991, the study of a language for one year (around 100 hours) will become mandatory for the School Certificate for the 1996 year 7 cohort (that is, for the 1999 School Certificate).

This recommendation was taken up in *Curriculum Requirements for NSW Schools* (1991) issued by the new Board of Studies. The curriculum reform proposed that 12 languages be regarded as priority languages in the State. These were Arabic, Chinese (Mandarin), French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Modern Greek, Russian, Spanish, and Vietnamese (recommendation 43, page 43). The curriculum reform also proposed (recommendation 44, page 44) that particular emphasis be placed on six of the 12 languages, namely Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Indonesian, Russian and Spanish, 'both because of their particular economic significance and their current very limited provision in NSW schools'. Hence courses were to be developed in Korean and Vietnamese for Years 7-10 by 1992, in Korean for Years 11-12 by 1995 and in Japanese for native speakers for Years 11-12 in 1991 (recommendation 45, page 44). Other languages will continue to be available for study. By mid-1994, an estimated 50 per cent of primary schools were actively seeking to establish a LOTE program or already had one.

The New South Wales Government plans to meet the challenge of this new commitment to LOTE learning through a combination of modes of delivery. These include the organisation of schools within clusters of up to 20 schools (including four to five high schools), a devolution of staffing to allow for a flexible environment for planning and to maximise the coordinated allocation of language teachers

and classes and through the provision of distance education, Specialist Language Schools and Centres of Excellence in language teaching and Saturday Schools of Languages. However, the human capital (ie, the teacher supply) required to ensure the effective implementation of these modes of delivery seems to be lacking, especially with regard to Asian languages, and is said to be 'largely dependent on the extent to which the Government's decision to return languages to an integral, significant and secure place within the curriculum will be reflected in an increase of language study in universities and particularly in teacher training programs' (*Excellence and Equity* 1989:46). Several possible strategies are mentioned (eg, an advertising campaign, exchange programs, cadetships and scholarships, bridging and retraining courses, etc), but no specific action - and especially no budget provision - has yet been taken to help resolve this important aspect of the problem.

2. 1. 2. Victoria

As one of the States with large and diverse migrant communities, Victoria has long been active in the recognition and effective integration of LOTEs in school programs. The State supplemented the teaching of LOTEs in Year 12 in the early 1970s, with the addition of languages such as Modern Greek in 1973, Czech, Latvian, Polish, Serbo-Croatian and Ukrainian in 1975, and Ukrainian and Turkish in 1976. In 1983, the State Government appointed the first supernumerary community language teachers to primary schools. The State Board of Education, established in 1983, was charged with making sure that school children's cultural and linguistic heritage 'were respected and sustained in the curricula of schools' (Victoria, State Board of Education Act 1983: Section 10). Victoria also established a Ministerial Advisory Committee on Multicultural and Migrant Education (MACMME) which, in conjunction with the Board, produced a discussion paper *The Place of Community Languages in Victorian Schools* in 1984, and a final policy and implementation paper *The Place of Languages Other Than English in Victorian Schools* in 1985. The change in the title of the documents, from 'Community Languages' to 'Languages Other Than English' was meant to reflect a broader approach - and not just a 'community' or 'ethnic' approach - to language education policy.

According to an influential policy paper *Victoria: Languages Action Plan* (Lo Bianco 1989:23-30), the impetus for language-in-education policy in Victoria came from a Ministerial Paper (No. 6), *Curriculum Development and Planning in Victoria*, which proposed culturally pluralist alternatives to the assimilationist frameworks for curriculum planning and development which had prevailed in the early 1980s. This Ministerial Paper called on each school council to 'ensure that its program enables students progressively to ... acquire proficiency in another language used in the Australian community' (1984:17 and Lo Bianco 1989:23). The Ministerial

Paper was followed by the first language policy statement in Victoria, *The Place of Languages other than English in Victorian Schools* (July 1985), which was endorsed by the Minister of Education. A LOTE Implementation Strategy Committee (LISC) was set up (August 1986 to April 1987) in order to come up with an action plan following the guidelines of the policy statement. Some innovative proposals were made, eg, the clustering of schools for more efficient LOTE program delivery and staffing changes to favour languages. These proposals were passed on to a LOTE Implementation Group (LIG) which had the responsibility of implementing them.

Two other policy documents were soon to follow: *Education for Excellence* and *Implementing Languages Other Than English (LOTE) Policy*. The aim of these policies was to make one or more LOTEs available to all students in the Victorian schools, and to make the study of a second language a required study for all students in Years 7-10 by 1996. However, much more has been done in Victoria not only with regard to language-in-education policy, but also in terms of LOTE programs implementation. There are currently 27 different LOTEs being taught in Victorian primary schools. Those most widely taught are Italian (available in 368 schools), German (67 schools), French (60 schools), Japanese (55 schools), Chinese (45 schools), Greek (41 schools) and Indonesian (39 schools). In addition, 23 other LOTEs are taught in Government schools. Three hours of face to face contact per week is the minimum in Victorian Government schools for LOTE programs, except where programs are provided through insertion[5] or from within a school's own resources. Some schools increase this allocation to five hours a week and up to 52 per cent of the curriculum is in a LOTE in bilingual programs. Approximately 190 000 students studied a LOTE in Victoria in 1992.

It is also important to note that in Victoria there is a very high non-school based HSC candidature. For example, Modern Greek has relatively low HSC school numbers, but from that low base, Modern Greek has in some years generated the highest overall LOTE HSC numbers.

These activities were coupled with a language policy for the TAFE sector launched in November 1987 and followed by an Implementation Plan developed in 1988. The Department of Industry, Technology and Resources issued, in December 1987, a report entitled *Language Services To Support the Economic Strategy*. This document proposed the establishment of a self financing Commercial Languages Centre which would offer specialised business-oriented language programs. *Victoria: The Next Decade - Leading Australia into the Next Decade*, a report which emphasised the importance of Chinese and Japanese languages was published in the same year. The Minister of Education requested a report in response to the latter. This report entitled *Asian Languages Working Party Report to the Minister for Education*

5 Insertion classes are organised and funded by interested language groups such as the Comitato Assistenza Italiano and held as part of the regular school day

published in November 1987 proposed an increase in teachers and programs in Asian languages. As well, a set of guidelines for establishing and conducting ESL programs in primary and post-primary schools was published in a document entitled *The Teaching of English as a Second Language (1987)*.

1988 was a prolific year for policy documents in Victorian education:

1. *A Higher Education Plan for Victoria 1989-91* (August 1988). This report acknowledges the present and future shortages of teachers of languages and the difficulties of staffing non-metropolitan schools in languages (as well as in selected secondary subject areas)

2. *The LOTE Framework P-10*, a report which provides general guidelines for the planning, developing and reviewing of curriculum content and programs

3. *Years 7-10 Guidelines Project*, an extension of the *LOTE Framework P-10*, and

4. The *VCE LOTE Study Design*, which provides a foundation for language courses in the final years of schooling.

With a change of government, new developments in LOTE education policy emerged. In May 1993, a Draft Strategy Development Plan for LOTEs was published in the Victorian School Education News and circulated for consultation. This resulted in the October 1993 document *LOTE Strategy Plan*, issued by the Directorate of School Education and the Ministerial Advisory Council on LOTEs. The strategy plan requires schools to provide in a staged manner language programs for all students P-12 and for at least 25 per cent of Years 11-12 by the Year 2000. The strategy plan aims to ensure that eight languages are offered predominantly in mainstream schools; namely Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Modern Greek and Vietnamese. It also aims to develop languages such as Arabic, Korean, Russian, Spanish and Thai in either mainstream schools or in the Victorian School of Languages and after-hours ethnic schools. The Plan attempts also to cater for languages of 'particular community significance' which may have significant or viable enrolments in particular geographic locations but might not need to be supported outside these areas. Identified under this category are Auslan (the language of the hearing impaired community), Croatian, Hebrew, Khmer, Koori languages, Macedonian, Maltese, Serbian and Turkish. The final category concerns languages with small overall enrolments and no particular geographic concentration. These languages would receive support in the Victorian School of Languages or in after-hours ethnic schools.

2. 1. 3. Queensland

Changes in the Queensland State Government policies regarding LOTEs have their origin in the early 1980s. In the 1970s, the acceptance of multiculturalism created a climate which heralded prolonged discussions on the nature of Australian society and ways in which institutions might reflect an increasingly multicultural society. One of the institutions in which intervention is easier, at least at policy level, is the institution of formal education. Thus the Queensland Multicultural Coordinating Committee (QMCC) was established in 1979 as part of the Commonwealth's Multicultural Education Program to

> advise the Queensland Minister for Education on the application of funds provided by the Commonwealth Government, on the recommendation of the Commonwealth Schools Commission, for the Multicultural Education Program (*LOTE Position Paper* 1985, p. 1).

In June 1980, the QMCC established a joint committee with the Modern Languages Teachers Association of Queensland (MLTAQ) in order to provide advice to the QMCC regarding appropriate ways to promote multiculturalism through language studies. A task force that resulted from this initiative led to the development of a position paper on LOTEs in 1985. The primary thrust of this paper was the development of an educational strategy for a multicultural society and the teaching of LOTEs in schools was to be the vehicle for this.

The position paper also suggested that language studies could be incorporated into primary curricula, thus advocating a change from the normal pattern of introduction of a LOTE in secondary schools. Three types of programs were recommended: language awareness programs, language learning programs and bilingual education programs, the last conceived of mainly as a transitional bilingual program for non-English speaking background(NESB) students.

Shortly after the publication of this document, the Queensland Department of Education published a policy statement for LOTE programs in primary schools (*Policy Statement* No. 4), echoing what had been said in the position paper. While this policy was supportive of LOTE programs at the primary level, no substantial initiative was taken to turn it into reality until the Federal Government adopted the NPL (Lo Bianco 1987) and established AACLAME which established the Australian Second Language Learning Program (ASLLP) with funding of some $22 million between 1988 and 1992. Approximately half of this funding was allocated to State and Territory Catholic and Independent school systems/ associations on the basis of enrolments in LOTE classes in schools. The remainder of this funding was allocated to projects following a competitive, publicly advertised selection process.

The ASLLP-funded LOTE programs began in Queensland in 1988. Their overall objective was to expand the existing programs in language teaching, examine various models of program delivery, develop curriculum materials and guidelines, provide opportunities for teachers to develop their LOTE proficiency and their understanding of current teaching methodologies, and monitor both the ASLLP-funded and State-funded programs in order to 'clarify relevant issues in the provision of LOTE programs and to prepare a framework for future action' (p. 1).

The primary thrust of the ASLLP-funded policy was to increase the participation of primary schools in language programs. It did this through the use of cluster and link schools, where a secondary school LOTE teacher (usually) went around a cluster of primary feeder schools and taught a LOTE for two one-half hour sessions per week. The use of technology was also explored, in what has come to be known as 'telelearning'.

During the ASLLP-funded initiative, some teaching materials were produced and distributed centrally (eg, *In Other Words: A LOTE Source Book*). However, most of the materials for use in classrooms were developed by teachers themselves, using the *ALL Guidelines* as a guide. While this did result in considerable variation from region to region, the central office staff were still instrumental in disseminating good ideas and materials from one region to another during their travels and during in-service courses.

In the middle of 1989, an Action Plan for LOTE was developed in the Department of Education, stating the objectives to be achieved by 1995. The goals of this plan were to provide quality language learning programs from P-10. However, political events overtook this document.

With the election of the Labor Government in 1989, some language initiatives were put into operation. As part of its election campaign, the Labor Party of Queensland had produced a document outlining its educational policies. Its policies regarding LOTE were to implement a statewide program of LOTE study in primary schools for all Queenslanders by providing funds and specialised LOTE teachers at the upper primary level. As a first step towards the achievement of these goals, Professor David Ingram of Griffith University was appointed to conduct a review of the teaching of languages and culture in Queensland. The report (Ingram and John 1991) presented a comprehensive list of 94 recommendations covering, *inter alia*, the target languages for Queensland schools prioritised in groups, the modes of offer, the Year levels at which they ought to be offered, curriculum development, teacher pre-service and in-service, controlled expansion and target enrolments in LOTEs in schools, the modes of

implementation, including the development of an infrastructure for the delivery of the programs, and the establishment of a Languages and Cultures Unit within the Studies Directorate in the Department of Education. The latter recommendation was adopted before the final report was published. The Languages and Cultures Unit was charged with the orderly development of LOTEs in primary schools in Queensland as well as the setting up of an infrastructure that would sustain such introduction and development of LOTE teaching in schools. A regional LOTE Coordinator was appointed for each educational region with the responsibility of supervising the introduction of LOTEs in schools, pooling and disseminating teaching materials, organising in-service courses for teachers and coordinating LOTE-related activities in schools. A centralised LOTE Advisory Service, a resource centre with statewide focus, has also been established at the Queensland LOTE Centre. It consists of native speakers in Italian and Spanish, beyond the five specified priority languages (ie, Chinese, French, German, Indonesian and Japanese).

The Queensland language teaching policy was broadened in a public statement about the development of LOTE in Queensland made by the then Minister of Education, Mr Paul Braddy, in July 1991 (henceforth referred to as the Braddy Statement)[6]. This statement reiterates the initiatives of the State Government and clearly sets out the objectives of its education reform with special focus on the LOTE-initiative. In the words of the Minister for Education, this initiative is about 'bringing the learning of languages into the forefront of our mainstream education' and 'opening Queenslanders' eyes to the world and equipping them to operate successfully in it' (p. 2). The policy is based on three main reasons, namely the intellectual, cultural and economic, which are seen as complementary (the Braddy Statement 1991:2). The Braddy Statement also sets out principles for the long-term development of LOTEs in Queensland schools dealing with continuity, quality, diversity, balance among languages and the integration of language teaching with cultural and other studies.

With regard to the expansion of LOTE programs in schools, in 1992 there were 58 000 primary students studying a LOTE while there were almost 40 000 students in secondary schools, an overall increase of 50 per cent compared with the numbers studying a LOTE in 1989. These numbers do not include 649 students who were studying an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language at primary level or the 186 at secondary level. The aim of the Government is to expand the availability of languages to all students in Years 6, 7 and 8 by 1994 and to all from Years 5 to 10 by 1996. Aboriginal languages, community languages and Auslan are also recognised in this policy, and the Government of the State intends to support their maintenance and development (the Braddy Statement 1991:3-4). It remains

6 cf. Braddy, P. 1991. *Languages Other Than English - LOTE. A Statement from the Minister.* Department of Education, Queensland.

to be seen whether the target of 20 per cent of Year 12 students studying a LOTE by the year 2000 will be reached. In 1992, of the 39 828 students studying a LOTE in secondary schools, only 1525 or 3.8 per cent of students studying a LOTE were in Year 12.

Accordingly, more than $1 million was allocated to in-service programs for language teachers in 1990. Other significant programs were undertaken in the same year: (1) 20 teachers were sent to China for a year to improve their language and cultural skills and 20 Chinese teachers came to the State on exchange in order to support the teaching of Chinese in Queensland; (2) the State Government paid for 20 teachers of Japanese to upgrade their proficiency at Griffith University in a one year graduate diploma course with a period of that training being spent in Japan (a similar program was to be undertaken in 1992); (3) 34 scholarships were given for prospective LOTE Teachers in Queensland universities in 1991; (4) support was also given for in-country training in Japan and Italy for language teachers in the State and funding was provided for a variety of in-service courses in language proficiency and methods across the State. In 1993 the Department of Education funded the University of Central Queensland to begin an immersion primary teacher program in which the training was conducted in Japanese

Current policy initiatives for 1993-96 (see The Draft Strategy Plan entitled *Languages Other Than English and International Studies*) suggest that the Queensland Government may require students to study a LOTE compulsorily and continuously from Years 5 to 10. This may signal a policy change from the Braddy Statement (1991) which had indicated that LOTE learning would be introduced from Years 1 to 5 by the year 2000. The change may have been brought about by financial considerations (the Government spent $5.5 million for languages programs in 1990), particularly the provision of extra teachers (estimated at a 75 per cent increase of the total number of teachers) in order to reach that goal. The Draft Strategy Plan provides a budget estimate and a detailed budget breakdown for every anticipated expenditure. For example, the LOTE/International Studies Initiative 1993-96 will cost the Queensland Government an estimated $83.73 million (*Languages Other Than English and International Studies*, Draft, p. 11).

The policy initiatives of the Queensland Government that have been put into operation as well as the initiatives that are proposed in the medium and long term are bold and far-reaching. The LOTE policies will ensure that in 1994 all students in Years 6 and 7 have an opportunity to study LOTEs. If the proposed draft policies which have been referred to in the above paragraphs are implemented, they will ensure continuous study of LOTEs for at least six years. The success of this policy will depend very much upon the continued financial commitment of the Government, the teaching methodologies and materials used and the quality of teaching provided in order to sustain the students' motivation.

The Queensland Government has played a key role in the development of the *Asian Languages and Australia's Economic Future* document commissioned by the Council of Australian Governments and released in February 1994. The 1994 Federal budget has provided initial funding to several areas of this paper.

2. 1. 4. Western Australia

The *LOTE Strategic Plan* of the State, published in October 1991, outlines the progressive introduction of LOTEs into primary (giving priority to programs commencing in Year 4) and secondary schools, so that access to quality LOTE education is available to all students, 'in accordance with their interests and needs', by 1999. The initial emphasis will be placed on Aboriginal languages, Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, and Japanese. Before the change of government in Western Australia following the 1993 elections, programs in at least one LOTE were to be offered by all senior high schools by 1991 and by all high schools by 1994, with all senior high schools offering both an Asian and a European language by 1999. The Ministry of Education was also planning to identify a Special Language School for LOTEs. This school was to offer places or scholarships to 20 highly talented language students to enable them to pursue particular courses or intensive LOTE programs (p. 5). The Ministry was to establish five Language Resource Centres throughout the State in order to boost the learning of Aboriginal languages (especially in primary schools with a high ratio of Aboriginal students) by means of bilingual mother tongue maintenance programs.

2. 1. 5. South Australia

The South Australian Department of Education has set out its commitment to the teaching of LOTEs in the document *Linking People Through Languages* (LPTL). The policy of the State is determined by the Curriculum Guarantee *Languages Policy: Educating for the 21st Century* and the *System-Wide Management for the Provision of Languages Other Than English*. These documents identify the following priorities:

1. All students in primary schools will be learning a LOTE as part of their formal education by 1995
2. All students will have access to the study of a LOTE in secondary schools, and
3. Students will have the opportunity to maintain and develop their mother tongue.

One important aspect of this report is that it identifies the mismatch between Commonwealth and State needs and the implications of this discrepancy for their

respective language policy and implementation programs (p. 35). In 1992, approximately 75 000 students studied a LOTE in South Australian schools.

The languages currently taught in South Australian primary schools, in both mainstream LOTE classes and first language maintenance classes, are Mandarin Chinese, Farsi, Modern Greek, Indonesian, Italian, Khmer, Pitjantjatjara, Polish, Serbian and/or Croatian, Russian, Vietnamese, German, French, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish. Other languages provided are Adnyamathanha, Dutch, Ngarrindjeri, Persian (in Years R-7), Latin (Years 8-12), Arabic, Danish, Filipino, Hebrew, Hungarian, Korean, Lao, Latvian, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Maltese, Punjabi, Sinhalese, Slovenian, Tamil, Tatar, Thai, Turkish, Ukrainian, Urdu, Uzbek (non-mainstream provision).

The Education Department of South Australia has also identified eight languages of wider teaching. These languages qualify the State to receive per capita support under the Commonwealth's Priority Languages Initiatives Scheme. These languages are Chinese, French, German, Greek, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, and Vietnamese, where Vietnamese has recently replaced Spanish on the list. Year 12 enrolment in these eight priority languages in 1992, as reported in *The Advertiser* of June 11 of that year, were 426 students for German, 381 for French, 318 for Chinese, 291 for Italian, 189 for Japanese, 184 for Greek, 183 for Vietnamese and 120 for Indonesian. Versions (there were two) of the Languages Other Than English Mapping and Planning Project (LOTEMAPP) circulated in April 1992 have expanded this list of priority languages to include Khmer, Polish, Farsi, Pitjantjatjara and Russian. This expansion has been criticised by the Centre for Language Teaching and Research (CLTR), a group representing tertiary teachers, researchers or administrators working in the area of LOTEs in South Australia, as not 'congruent' neither with the State Languages Policy nor with 'national directions' in its reply to LOTEMAPP[7]

LOTEMAPP was charged with implementing the State Languages Policy by planning the 'spread and balance' of languages in South Australian primary schools. The LOTEMAPP paper defined its purpose as to:

1. Provide the Curriculum Coordinating Group (CCG) with a summary of the issues arising from the compilation of information from individual Area LOTEMAPPs
2. Provide a set of recommendations so that the goals of the State Languages Policy will be met by 1995
3. Seek CCG's approval for the dissemination of this paper and the establishment of a consultation process with the key stakeholders of languages education.

---

7 The position paper, entitled *LOTEMAPP and the Mystique of 'Spread and Balance' or How to alter policy without really trying*, was written by Don Longo, Associate Director, CLTR and Tony Stephens, Director, CLTR

The paper made 50 recommendations (summarised on pages 2 to 6) which 'key bodies' were invited to comment on by 26 June 1992. Among other things, it suggested that schools with enrolments over 350 or more than 15 classes introduce a second LOTE. Both CLTR, as indicated above, and the Modern Languages Teachers Association of South Australia (MLTASA) have rejected the document as

> a well-meaning blueprint for rendering an already precarious situation chaotic ... a document that misrepresents what it is actually doing; that is appallingly badly formulated; that runs the risk of doing severe damage to the wider cause of LOTE teaching in both schools and tertiary institutions of South Australia and, incidentally, goes over the top on a number of issues that have a superficially multicultural appeal (*CLTR Position Paper*, pp. 7-8).

The MLTASA noted that 'Above all it seems to negate the spirit of the state languages policy which promised access to a language for all primary school students'. There was no indication that these issues had been settled at the time this section was written.

In the higher education sphere the South Australian authorities have been very active as well, having produced an important document entitled *The Language Challenge: Tertiary Languages Planning - A Policy for South Australia (1990)*, a policy on the development of language offerings in higher education institutions in South Australia commissioned by the Minister of Employment and Further Education of the State and developed by the South Australian Institute of Languages. This detailed and rigorous planning document complements the State policy. *The Language Challenge* claims to have incorporated the principles and objectives of the NPL in the context of the economic and social needs of the State. Its chief objective is to change community perceptions of LOTE learning and set priorities which will have an impact on both the school system and the community at large. Some of its other priorities (see pp. 34-35 for a full list of priorities) are that:

1. The study of languages in schools and in higher education should achieve the status of core subjects, as is the case in most European countries and in Japan
2. Most South Australians should study at least one language other than English to Year 12, and at least 20 per cent of tertiary students should include a component of language study in their courses
3. There should be an appropriate balance between the languages offered in the tertiary sector, so that national priorities (economic development and political demands), community needs and intellectual demands are adequately met

4. Professional and vocational courses should make provision for languages to be included as an integral part of their programs
5. There should be adequate links between school systems and tertiary institutions, so that each can be aware of new developments in the others' areas and of the others' needs
6. Employers should be persuaded to take account of language skills in recruitment and staff development.

2. 1. 6. Tasmania

The goal of *The Study of Languages Other Than English in Tasmanian Schools and Colleges* (in preparation) is that as many students as possible should study one LOTE or more for a sufficient time to enable them to reach an initial level of proficiency. Hence, provision should be made for entry to language programs at several levels of schooling, with proficiency recognised formally at all stages, after at least one year's study. Another aim of the policy is to increase the number of students enrolled in Asian languages so that it is at least equivalent to the numbers studying European languages.

Departmental Interim Policy states that students in Years 5 to 8 should be guaranteed a coordinated and continuing LOTE program in either French, German, Indonesian, or Japanese. In 1991, the Department of Education established eight administrative districts with schools ranging from Kindergarten to Year 12. These districts were to decide which languages would be implemented in their LOTE program by the end of 1992, so that by 1997, all Year 5 to 8 students may have access to a LOTE. The Tasmanian School of Distance Education also provides programs in French, German and Japanese. Approximately 12 500 students studied a LOTE in Tasmania in 1992.

At the time of writing, a Tasmanian Education Council Discussion Paper on LOTE containing the Council's provisional views on the provision of LOTE in the State was being circulated for comments. The Council makes a number of suggestions in this documents. Some of these are:

1. The time and commitment devoted to the learning of a LOTE should be equivalent to that of the other seven nationally agreed areas of learning (English, mathematics, science, etc), and the learning of a LOTE should be compulsory from Kindergarten to Year 10
2. The provision of LOTEs from Kindergarten to Year 12 should be phased in as trained teachers and resources become available, in order to put a quality program into place

3. There should be a mix of four European and Asian languages, preferably French, German, Indonesian and Japanese, available from Kindergarten to Year 10. Additional LOTEs could be available at Years 11 and 12.

2. 1. 7. The Australian Capital Territory

The Australian Capital Territory has set down its guidelines for the implementation of second language provision in a document entitled *Languages Other Than English in ACT Government Schools 1990-2000*. There is an initiative for all primary schools to teach a LOTE by 1995, so that every student is given the opportunity to learn at least one LOTE for as many years as possible. By the year 2000, all primary schools will offer LOTEs from Year 2 for at least two forty five minute periods per week. The guiding principles of this document are (p. 1):

1. The learning of languages is an important element in the education of all students
2. Every student should have the opportunity to learn at least one language other than English for as many years as possible
3. Students should have access to language programs from the early primary years, since research shows that children of this age group learn linguistic patterns easily, and their attitudes to other cultures are at a formative stage
4. LOTE curriculum should be rigorous, intellectually demanding and of high quality, leading at least to a minimum level of proficiency, and
5. LOTE programs should be organised in clusters within each region to offer students the ability to continue their study from Kindergarten to Year 12.

The planning guidelines, among other things, encourage Government schools to select a LOTE from the list of languages of wider teaching (ie, French, German, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, Modern Greek and Spanish) and indicate that plans are afoot for the trialing of Thai and Korean programs at college or evening college level. Arabic is currently taught in after-school programs. It is also recommended that secondary students be offered the choice of an Asian and an European language within their school and according to the needs and resources of the community. 'Taster' programs in Year 7, considered to be 'generally unproductive', are not recommended (p. 6).

The Australian Capital Territory has entered into a number of agreements with other governments; namely, France, Italy and Spain. With the assistance of these governments, the Department of Education is running language programs in French, Italian and Spanish. The French program at Telopea Park School started

in 1983 and provides bilingual education from Kindergarten to Year 10. The Italian language programs at Griffith Primary School and Telopea Park School, partially funded through the Ethnic Schools Program and partially by the Italian Government, are run by the Comitato Italiano Assistenza, Canberra (CIAC). Spanish is taught in ACT Government schools and in after-school programs as a result of a Memorandum of Understanding between the ACT Department of Education and the Spanish Government (pp. 3-4). The German, Greek, Indonesian and Japanese Governments also provide support to ACT LOTE programs through after-hours classes, in-service courses and scholarships. As a result of these efforts, primary schools involved in LOTEs in the ACT are reported to have increased from 11.2 per cent in 1983 and 36 per cent in 1991 to 55.5 per cent in 1992. Approximately 29 000 students studied a LOTE in ACT in 1992.

In 1988 the ACT Languages Forum called on the ACT Government to develop a more wide-ranging language policy. A discussion paper and a draft policy were prepared for the ACT Government in 1990 by Joseph Lo Bianco. This is now the basis for a policy paper presently being prepared by Julie Beattie. This is how the basis for a policy paper presently being prepared for language across all areas of the ACT administration. This policy was to have been completed in December 1993.

2. 1. 8. The Northern Territory

In 1988, the Northern Territory Department of Education endorsed the document entitled *The Northern Territory Policy on Languages Other Than English* (1987). This is a ten year plan to ensure the successful implementation of LOTE programs in the schools of the Territory. Its ultimate goal is for all Territorians to be bilingual in English and one (or more) other language(s). Central to this policy is the recognition of:

1. The right of all Territorians to develop the proficiency in English which is appropriate to their needs
2. The right of Aboriginal and ethnic groups to maintain their languages and cultures; hence, the policy also states that, wherever possible, all non-English speaking students should have the opportunity to develop initial literacy and continuing support in their mother tongue
3. The importance of all students developing practical skills in at least one LOTE, and
4. The necessity for all Territorians to develop intercultural understanding.

Some of the underlying principles of this LOTE policy are that:

1. It is important for all students to develop practical skills in at least one LOTE
2. Priority is given to Indonesian, Bahasa Malay, Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, Italian, Modern Greek and traditional Aboriginal languages
3. Continuing access to a priority language should be made available at all levels of schooling (T-12) by 1990 and all students in primary schools should have access to LOTEs through a range of delivery modes by the year 2000.

The Northern Territory has identified eight priority languages in accordance with the Commonwealth Priority Languages Initiatives Scheme. These are: Aboriginal languages, Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese and Modern Greek. The aim of the plan is to offer two hours of at least one LOTE per week for two years at primary school level, four hours of at least one LOTE per week for two years at secondary school level, and 3.5 to four hours of at least one LOTE per week at senior secondary school level. Secondary schools and their feeder primary schools must negotiate their choice of language to ensure continuity of learning for a four-year period (from Years 6 to 9), the minimum requirement for LOTE programs. The objective is to make LOTE a core subject in Years 8 to 10. At present, some 3600 students are studying LOTEs in the Northern Territory as part of their primary school curriculum and approximately 10 500 students in both primary and secondary schools (after-hours and bilingual classes included) are involved in LOTE education programs.

The Northern Territory has also been working particularly hard to ensure that Indonesian as the single most important language for its external relations is well developed and the Territory is close to having this language offered in all Territory schools.

2. 2. Summary

The wealth of State/Territory policies just described and summarised in Table 2 reflect the growing acceptance of Australia's cultural and linguistic diversity (around 150 Aboriginal languages and more than 100 immigrant languages, according to the 1976 Australian Census). This new phase of understanding of the importance of the study of LOTEs is the result of a long, frustrating and sometimes painful process of developing LOTE policy in the 1970s and 1980s (see for example Clyne 1988, Baldauf 1990, Lo Bianco 1990, Ozolins 1993). As the

foregoing discussion indicates, these State and Territory policies are at different stages of formulation and implementation, and support to varying degrees languages spoken in the community. The support for mother tongue learning and development is a matter which most policies have yet to tackle. Nevertheless, the effort to face up to the issue of LOTE teaching and learning is a genuine one. Language professionals, ethnic communities and business associations have been an integral part of this effort, albeit at different levels and in varying degrees in the different socio-cultural and geographic situations of the particular systems concerned.

The Commonwealth, as we have seen from the previous chapter, has played and continues to play an active part in this process. From the early 1970s, the Commonwealth has driven many aspects of language policy making through some States; Victoria and South Australia in particular led the way in community language teaching from the mid-1970s. Commonwealth initiatives and policies have often been the catalyst for bold reforms at State level. In this context, the Australian Education Council (AEC), made up of Federal, State and Territory Ministers of Education and heads of their departments, at its 60th meeting in Hobart in April 1989, ratified a formal declaration of Common and Agreed National Goals for Schooling in Australia. Some of these goals were directly relevant to LOTEs. These were:

1. to develop in learners a knowledge of languages other than English, and
2. to provide learners with an understanding of and respect for our cultural heritage, including the particular background of Aboriginal and ethnic groups.

As a result of this national collaborative effort, the AEC Curriculum and Assessment Committee (CURASS) developed a formal consultation draft on curriculum development entitled *National Statement on Languages Other than English (LOTE)* for Australian schools in 1992. This statement defined as 'a framework around which systems and schools may build their LOTE curriculum programs and syllabi' sets out an agreed basis for curriculum in LOTEs in Australian States and Territories. In February 1993, CURASS also released a consultation draft of *The National LOTE Profile*. The purpose of the profile is to provide an agreed framework which will enable teachers to describe the achievements of learners in LOTE at eight different levels across Years 1 to 12, in terms which will be understood across Australia. Advocates of this profile hoped that it would provide the basis of a National Curriculum Resource for teachers and curriculum writers, that education systems, schools and teachers would be able to adapt it to their own State policies and guidelines, and that teacher educators would use it when

designing courses for the training of teachers of LOTEs. A series of learning outcomes are to be incorporated into three strands that are believed to reflect the central goal of language learning (ie, the development of communicative competence). The three strands of this profile are:

1. Communicating in LOTEs
2. Sociocultural Understandings, and
3. Understanding and Applying Language as a System.

A Working party of the Management Committee of the CLTR responded to the *National Statement on LOTE* formal consultation draft and to the Draft *National LOTE Profile*. According to the Working Party, both documents do not appear to 'adequately reflect up-to-date knowledge of research into language learning, sociolinguistics and linguistics' and fail to make a clear distinction between second language (L2), foreign language learning (FL) and Aboriginal and Islander Language needs. As a result, they do not take into account the time it takes to achieve full proficiency in the learner's first target language[8]. The Working Party also points out the 'gap between the programmatic aims' of the documents and what can realistically be achieved. The targets are not spelled out and there is no discussion of measuring outcomes. As well, no indication is given as to how speedily progress can be made at different stages of policy implementation. Finally, the Working Party believes that both documents are 'highly ethnocentric' and show a lack of 'cultural understanding' with regard to Aboriginal and Islander languages. For instance, it is argued that 'no reference is made to the two-way learning process desired by many Aborigines' and that there is 'no mention of a mechanism for non-Aborigines to learn from Aborigines'. The Working Party concludes that, although both documents 'contain issues of national, state and local importance', they will need to be reformulated to meet the high expectations they arouse.

The AEC draft consultation papers and the CLTR's responses to these papers attest to the ongoing collaboration in the development of a LOTE national curriculum and the Commonwealth's commitment to this effort. With about $245 million spent on specific-purpose programs in literacy and language in all education sectors, the Commonwealth remains the main provider of funds for education in Australia.

8 This refers to a study of the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) School of Language Studies entitled *Expected Levels of Absolute Speaking Proficiency in Languages Taught at the Foreign Service Institute*. The study published in 1973 claims that not every language can be learnt at the same rate. For example, superior proficiency can be achieved in Asian languages such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean provided highly motivated adult students apply themselves to language study under ideal circumstances for somewhere between 2400 and 2760 hours of tuition. By comparison, most European languages (French, German, Italian, Spanish) would require a maximum of 720 hours.

Recently the process of developing national curriculum statements and profiles has been rather slowed down as it has been decided that States and Territories and non-Government systems will adapt and apply them as is appropriate to the circumstances prevailing in their particular setting.

As can be seen, the foregoing is not a complete picture of the language policy scene since it does not address the non-Government sector (Catholic and Independent schools) nor the higher education (except for South Australia), TAFE and Vocational Education and Training sectors. This is due to the fact that State policy documents discussed above do not include these sectors. It is indicative however of the important role that language policy and language planning activities have in the thinking of educational systems in Australia.

Table 2: *Summary of current State/Territory language policies*

	DOCUMENT	ALLP PRIORITY LANGUAGES	OTHER LANGUAGES	LEVELS OF SCHOOLING AND HOURS OF INSTRUCTION
ACT	*Languages other than English in ACT Government schools 1990-2000* (1990)	8: Mandarin Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Modern Greek, Spanish (Korean and Thai being introduced)	Over 21 languages are taught, both in and outside the mainstream	Minimum 90 minutes/week for primary, 2-3 hours/week for Years 7-10 and 4 hours/week for Years 11-12.
NSW	*Excellence and Equity* (1989). *LOTE Strategic Plan Consultation Document* (1992). *Curriculum Requirements for NSW Schools*	12: Arabic, Chinese (Mandarin), French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Modern Greek, Russian, Spanish and Vietnamese.	30 languages are taught, both in and outside the mainstream at various year levels.	By 1996, 100 hours of one LOTE for one year compulsory in Years 7-10; after that, 200 hours Years 7-10; 25 per cent of Year 12 students to be studying a LOTE by the year 2000).
NT	*Northern Territory Policy on Languages Other Than English* (1987).	8: Aboriginal languages, Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Modern Greek.	43 languages are taught, both in and outside the mainstream.	2 hours/week in Years 6 and 7, 4 hours/week in Years 8-10 and 3.5-4 hours/week in senior secondary.
QLD	*P-10 Language Education Framework* (1989) and *The Teaching of Languages and Cultures in Queensland* (Ingram and John) (1990).	5: Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Japanese.	12 languages are taught, both in and outside the mainstream at various year levels.	By January 1996, at least one language in each school for Years 6-8 and one language through to Year 12 for 1.5 to 2.5 hours/week (may be compulsory for Years 5-10).
SA	*Linking People Through Languages (LPTL): Language Policy. Educating for the 21st Century. System-wide Management for Provision of Languages Other Than English LOTEMAPP* (1992). *Tertiary Languages Planning: A Policy for South Australia* (1990).	13: Chinese, Farsi, French, German, Modern Greek, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Khmer, Pitjantjatjara, Polish, Russian and Vietnamese.	Adnyamathanha, Croatian, Dutch, Korean, Ngarrindjeri, Persian, Portuguese, Spanish, Thai, Serbian (Years R-7) and Latin (Years 8-12), as well as 21 languages outside the mainstream.	A language in every primary school by 1995 for a minimum of 90 minutes/week at primary level and 3-4 hours/week at secondary school level.
TAS	*Tasmania's languages policy* (1987); to be replaced by *The Study of Languages Other Than English in Tasmanian Schools and Colleges*.	6: Mandarin Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese.	Latin, Modern Greek, Polish, Russian and Spanish (Years 11-12).	10-90 minutes/week at primary level, 1-3 hours/week at secondary level, 4-5 hours/week at senior secondary school level.
VIC	*Languages Action Plan* (1989). *Education for Excellence. Implementing Languages Other Than English (LOTE) Policy*.	8: Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Modern Greek, and Vietnamese.	No restrictions. A total of 43 languages are taught both in and outside the mainstream.	86 to 275 minutes/week at primary school level, and from 126 to 177 minutes at secondary school level.
WA	*Languages Other Than English: Strategic Plan* (1990).	10: Aboriginal languages, Mandarin Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Modern Greek, Spanish and Vietnamese.	26 languages are taught, both in and outside the mainstream.	Minimum of 1 hour/week at primary school level, 2 hours/week at junior secondary school level, and 4 hours/week at senior secondary school level.

Source: Adapted from Nicholas et al. (1993:23-24) and from the Overview of Key Areas of State Policies (NLLIA) and updated.

3

The Present State of Affairs

Facing the increased immigration now termed 'Asianization,' and realizing its geographical placement, Australia is now planning to utilize multilingualism as a positive tool in the task of nation-building. The creation of multilingualism is being used to unify its diverse population and to open its prospects for the future. Far from seeing multilingualism as disruptive to national unity, Australia has chosen a policy to make multilingualism a cornerstone in greater national compatibility.
- Marshall and Gonzalez 1990:49.

3. 1. Introduction

The evidence presented in Chapters 1 and 2 suggests that a great deal has been accomplished in the area of language policy and language planning in Australia since the early 1970s. Commonwealth, State and Territory Governments have through their work in these areas contributed considerably to the general acceptance of multilingualism and multiculturalism. As a result, the languages of Australian immigrants have received, and continue to receive, support that is unprecedented anywhere else in English mother-tongue speaking countries. This interest in LOTE is manifest in figures from a 1985 government report that estimated that in 1983 there were over 65 000 students, mainly in Victoria and New South Wales, attending ethnic schools and studying 51 different languages (Fishman 1992:53).

The language policies at Federal and State/Territory levels described in Chapters 1 and 2 bear witness to the commitment of decision-makers at all levels to LOTE provision. Having made these policy decisions, however, new and practical directions are now needed. This chapter attempts to look at what has been accomplished over the last two decades in terms of language provision and the teaching/learning of LOTE. The focus here is not so much on a celebration of national language policy achievements as it is an attempt to ponder the challenges that face Australians in the future, mainly in terms of language-in-education policy. Although there are indications of increased LOTE learning (eg, increased numbers of students enrolled in a LOTE at all levels, especially at primary school level - see Chapter 6), there can be no complacency or illusion that provisions of LOTE are in place. Much still remains to be done.

This chapter falls into two subsections. In the first section, some facts and figures about the state of LOTE learning in Australia are presented. Since effective planning

requires the continued evaluation and revision of a plan during its implementation phase, it is appropriate, before embarking on a new course, to critically evaluate the results of these language policies. The second part of the chapter examines the most important step, the political and economic realities of LOTE provision.

3. 2. Some Facts and Figures

For a long time, the only information available to most language professionals interested in the provision and delivery of LOTE in the Australian education system was collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. No detailed, coordinated and national sociolinguistic survey information was available for language policy making. Thus, despite the adoption of the NPL in 1987, severe deficiencies remained in Australia's ability to respond appropriately to the pressing issues of second language learning (Lo Bianco 1990:74-75).

The broad picture of language-in-education provision over the last two decades has not been good. While 29.73 per cent of all BA students in universities studied a LOTE in 1964 (Wykes and King 1968), this proportion had dropped to 22.9 per cent of BA students and 7.6 per cent of all undergraduates by 1975. Nationally, between 1967 and 1976, enrolments in secondary matriculation programs for the study of LOTE dropped from 40 per cent of the total number of matriculation students to just 14 per cent. Enrolments remained at this level until 1986 (Hawley 1981: Tables 7, 7.1 and Lo Bianco 1987:28-29). Between 1983 and 1988, there were 6 per cent fewer students per 10 000 in lower primary schools and 12 per cent fewer students per 10 000 in the upper secondary schools studying LOTE (DEET 1988). Nicholas et al. (1993:164) estimate that enrolments in language study declined by 86 per cent between Year 7 and Year 12 during this five year period. By 1988, only 13 per cent of primary school students and just over 30 per cent of secondary school students studied a LOTE and less than 25 per cent of schools offered a LOTE. In 1990, less than 12 per cent of Year 12 students studied a LOTE.

Worse yet, only 1.89 per cent of the students enrolled in institutions of higher education were studying a LOTE (Leal et al. 1991:67) and less than 1 per cent of these completed a language unit in 1990. In 1991, enrolments in Year 12 language study declined by 2.8 per cent of total subject enrolments (Department of School Education 1992:9). According to the White Paper (DEET 1991b:71), the number of students taking French at all levels fell from 21 per cent to 17.8 per cent from 1988 to 1990. In the same years, German fell from 16 per cent to 10.5 per cent and Italian from 14.8 per cent to 12.1 per cent. In New South Wales, almost 33 per cent of secondary schools did not provide any LOTE in 1991 and, in many others,

LOTEs were not available in the senior secondary school (Years 11 and 12). Figures adduced by State authorities indicate a fall-off of 47.6 per cent in the number of final year students of Chinese between 1990 and 1992. Other languages such as French, German and Italian had lesser falls over the same period - 13.4 per cent, 6 per cent and 9.5 per cent respectively (*Campus Review*, 14-20 April 1994:4). According to the NLLIA,

> There has been and continues to be great attrition in the study, not to say the learning, of languages in the final years of schooling ... [and] ... with the exception of Japanese, the only languages experiencing increased enrolments at year 12 are seemingly those spoken by relatively recently arrived immigrants - Arabic, Spanish and Vietnamese.[9]

Given the policy emphasis on LOTE provision, the consistency with which students in schools and higher education have chosen not to study LOTE is remarkable. This is even more remarkable given that this decline took place despite the increasing number of languages available for study in Australian schools: 54 languages, including 14 Aboriginal languages, in primary and secondary education (DEET 1988:3) and 36 languages in institutions of higher education (Leal et al. 1991:59).

The situation with regard to the provision of language teachers is equally alarming. Nicholas et al. (1993:56) noted that: 'The present situation is one of dramatically increasing demand. It appears that a shortage of language teachers will remain with us for some considerable time'. They go on to say that:

> Data from Western Australia indicate that, assuming no growth in the number of post-primary school students, by 1999, there will be a need for an additional 57 language teachers prepared to serve in small rural communities and competent to teach Years 4 to 10 and a further 81 'European' and 81 'Asian' language teacher departments available in senior high schools ... In New South Wales, the Excellence and Equity report indicates that an additional 420 language teachers will be required in the government sector alone to implement its two year compulsory language provision. A further 180 teachers would be required for the non-government sector (Nicholas et al. 1993:32; footnote 3).

Although substantial sums of money have been allocated for LOTE in Queensland, in 1993 no new programs in Japanese were allowed to begin due to an insufficient supply of qualified teachers. The implementation of this State's new language-in-education policy will in fact require a 75 per cent increase in the number of language teachers compared to the present situation.

9 Dr Joseph de Riva O'Phelan quoted in the *Campus Review*, 14-20 April 1994:4

However, the nationwide effort to increase the provision of primary, secondary and tertiary language education is not only about the number of language teachers being trained. Another important issue is the quality of the language being provided. The Nicholas et al. (1993:192) data show that teachers of a number of languages consistently rated their proficiency in that language below the desired level of fluency required in all of the four macro skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing). Languages for which there were fewer native speakers or teachers with a home background were those in which teachers rated their competence least satisfactory. Basic language teacher training structures also offer little or no language, linguistics, discourse theory, cross-cultural communication or methodology as standard options. The result is that most graduates are ill-equipped to teach their language and find it difficult to understand the premises of communicative language teaching methods of language instruction being promoted in schools. While no university program can be expected to produce expert language teachers (or any other professional) in the time available, what is most problematic is that many teachers lack the skills basis necessary to develop into fully fledged professionals.

These problems suggest that, in spite of two decades of growing policy commitment aimed at turning these alarming statistics around, the fact still remains that:

1. Despite the school reforms of the early 1980s and 1990s, language study still holds a marginal place in the school curriculum and LOTE programs, unlike other subjects in the curriculum, still have to justify their existence
2. Although the rate of growth in language study has been considerable at the primary school level in the last several years, it is far from uniform across languages and across Australia. In absolute numbers and in view of the worsening situation in previous years, this rate of growth has been relatively negligible
3. There is a lack of continuity (the 'transition problem'; see Chapter 6) between primary and post-primary levels
4. While the situation has significantly improved, there is still a paucity of materials and resources for most LOTEs and many of the ones that are available are not suitable for the extensive programs being developed and for the Australian context (also see Chapter 6)
5. While all indications are that the need for language teachers at primary and post-primary levels must expand rapidly in the coming decade to meet policy objectives, the training and accreditation of these teachers is yet to receive the necessary priority funding to meet these demands. Training and the language proficiency of a significant proportion of teachers is inadequate to deliver quality language programs (Nicholas et al. 1993).

The problems in the LOTE sector are also reflected in other language learning situations. For example, it is extremely difficult for Australians whose hearing and/or speech are impaired to attain higher qualifications in Australian tertiary institutions (Lo Bianco 1990:74-75). Language death among Aboriginal languages is still happening at the alarming rate of over 1 per cent a year (see Fishman 1992) and there is a consistent and increasing pattern of language shift from community languages to English, especially among the young (see Clyne 1981 and 1991a). These are the very individuals who could otherwise help to increase the pool of multilinguals in Australia. At the same time, some 370 000 Australians, nine per cent of whom were born in this country, are unable to speak English well or at all (1986 Census). As already indicated in the previous chapter, an estimated one million Australian adults, 70 per cent of whom are of English-speaking background, have difficulty carrying out basic literacy and numeracy tasks (DEET 1990:xiii). Recent estimates are that poor English language skills could be costing Australia at least $3.2 billion each year in additional workplace communication time. Interpreting and translating provisions are inadequate and the skills of the language professionals (interpreters and translators) are poorly valued and badly paid.

These are but some of the language challenges facing Australians. Even though this state of affairs is a serious one, the summary of outstanding issues is not meant to minimise the efforts already made in the language area. It is simply to stress the fact that it is one thing to make policy statements and quite another to be able to adequately implement those policies to achieve the desired outcome(s). Needless to say, policies which have only been in place for a few years - some as recently as the early 1990s - cannot be expected to change the LOTE teaching/learning situation overnight, especially when the better part of the early 1990s was marked by an economic recession that affected the funding available for the implementation of many of these language policies. Rather, it is important that language professionals, business people and government officials from across Australia recognise that the policies and initiatives developed by Commonwealth and State/Territory Governments have as yet to achieve the desired results, a pool of proficient speakers of LOTEs to meet Australia's needs. Thus, while a firm foundation has been put in place, much of the infrastructure remains to be created.

3. 3. LOTE or English?

The difficulty faced by governments and language professionals is not only that the progress in meeting language planning goals is disappointing, but also that some sectors of the community remain generally dismissive of the importance of LOTE.

For example, almost every survey published to date, both by and about the business community, indicates that business people query the need for LOTE skills to support their export capabilities. This shows how little has changed among business people since the 1970s (cf. Auchmuty 1971), when a survey of their attitudes on the need for foreign language skills revealed that:

> the majority of businesses sampled had relatively little interest in improving the language capabilities of their staff; felt that languages were not a significant obstacle to their trading activities and already saw themselves as effective exporters (Stanley et al. 1990:19).

Like the Auchmuty report, this survey also came to the conclusion that:

> The businessman is monolingual and probably has had very little experience of language learning. His lack of another LOTE and lack of awareness of another culture particularly, mean that he is simply unable to understand that activities and the business environment can be conducted and experienced in a very different way and according to a very different set of rules and perceptions. To convey a sense of this difference is akin to explaining colour to someone who is colour blind. It cannot be known at an intellectual level, it has to be experienced to be understood (Stanley et al. 1990:19).

The 1991 Midgley report (see Chapter 2) found that there was little awareness and little value placed upon LOTE skills by business managers and that potential business managers showed little evidence of fluency in LOTE and no motivation to acquire such skills (Midgley 1991:47-51). The Languages Unit Survey of Australian businesses operating in Indonesia found that despite nearly 70 per cent of companies reporting communications breakdowns because of language, only 13 per cent of Australian companies in Jakarta attempted to do business in the Indonesian language.

Further evidence for these attitudes was found at the first Australian Language Expo in Melbourne (November 1992) where the business sector was singled out as having been the slowest to respond to the call to 'look East'.

Confirming this view, the 1994 report of the Australian Language and Literacy Council (ALLC), *Speaking of Business: The Needs of Business and Industry for Language Skills*, suggests that, although some successful business people speak more than one language, they still do not rate language proficiency as a desirable business skill. The report also repeats the old claim that 'the economic elites of Asia are becoming proficient in English' (p. 9) and that 'English is now an Asian language' (p. 10) (also see Auchmuty 1971). In substance, the report argues that:

> The Council is aware that a mischief is abroad which exaggerates the economic importance of language study. Mischief whose twin is the hoary notion that languages, like our schools and their curriculum, should be only an extension of the transient needs of our economy. The Council rejects the exaggerated value of language study as a nonsense (ALLC 1994:vii).

If the centrality of English as a world language is accepted, then one may be tempted to ask, as does the report,

> [why] Australian governments should discover the economic importance of languages at a moment in our history when languages have never been less important on purely economic determinist grounds, exactly when the pendulum is swinging towards English among the educational and trading elites of Asia? (p. 9).

Why should Australian governments invest so much effort in promoting LOTE? Is the importance of English such that Australian LOTE efforts are on the wrong track? Has Australia embarked on an impossible mission?

First of all, even if English is the most important language in the Asia-Pacific region on the grounds that it is widely taught as a foreign language and because most Asian business executives learn it, that does not mean that it is the language of work, consumption and overwhelming everyday business interactions in China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan or Indonesia. Secondly, the beliefs expressed by the business community and the ALLC in its report on the needs of business and industry for language skills run counter to the Commonwealth Government's claim that:

> Australians must develop proficient skills in languages other than English, as well as knowledge of the culture and customs of other countries, to enable Australia to strengthen its international trade position. ... We have 'got by' in the past with English, but in a more sophisticated and competitive global market-place and with the shift in the nature of our trading partners, this is no longer adequate (DEET 1990a:9).

The patterns of international trade have changed over the years - namely the emergence of the newly industrialised economies of Asia, Latin American economic and agricultural integration (Mercosur and Conasur), the creation of a single European economy in 1992, and the recent signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) - and Australia's role and relationships in the world community have also changed. In 1988-89, English was the national language in only five of Australia's top twelve trading partners (DEET 1990a:9). Moreover, trade with these partners was not in Australia's favour as compared with trade with Asian and/or European partners as shown in Table 3. In fact,

Australia's major export markets include only four countries that use English as a national language, while the number of non-English speaking trading partners has been increasing as shown in Table 4. In addition, Australia's export earnings from major non-English speaking trading partners from 1990-92 are almost twice as much as the export earnings from English-speaking trading partners.

Table 3: *Foreign Trade with Australia's top twelve trading partners in 1988-89*

Group 1: English-speaking Economies	**Imports as %**	**Exports as %**	**Excess of Imports /Exports**
Canada	2.27	-	-
New Zealand	4.19	5.09	+0.9
Singapore[10]	2.32	3.41	+1.09
UK	7.34	3.50	-3.84
USA	21.52	10.16	-11.36
Total of Group 1	37.64	22.16	-13.21
Group 2: Asian Economies			
China	2.18	2.79	+0.61
Hong Kong	-	4.35	+4.35
Japan	20.75	27.27	+6.52
Korea	2.68	5.01	+2.33
Taiwan	4.08	3.60	-0.48
Total of Group 2	29.69	43.02	+13.33
Group 3: Euporean Economies			
France	2.71	2.24	-0.47
Germany	6.27	2.47	-3.8
Italy	2.94	2.18	-0.76
Total of Group 3	11.92	6.89	-5.03
Total of Groups 2 and 3	41.61	49.91	+8.30

Source: Adapted from Austrade and updated

10 It is estimated however that 80 percent of the total population of Singapore speaks Chinese

Table 4: *Australia's Major Export Markets 1990-92 in millions of dollars*

Major Export Markets	1990-91	1991-92	% Change 1990-92
China	1 347.5	1 451.1	+7.7
Hong Kong	1 559.2	2 100.9	+34.7
Indonesia	1 462.1	1 632.2	+11.6
Japan	14 375.8	14 578.9	+1.4
Korea	3 236.7	3 374.0	+4.2
Taiwan	1 961.8	2 531.9	+29.9
Total for non-English speaking Economies	**23 943.1**	**25 669**	**+89.5**
New Zealand	2 543.9	2 884.6	+11.8
Singapore[11]	2 768.4	3 186.1	+15.1
UK	1 778.8	1 928.4	+8.4
USA	5 776.7	5 210.5	-9.8
Total for English-speaking economies	**12 867.8**	**13 209.6**	**+25.5**

Adapted from ALLC 1994:110. Source: Central Statistics Section, Department of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1993

The business community is well aware of the importance of trade with Asia and other non-English speaking trade partners (eg, Latin America and the Middle East). What is not clear is how business plans to develop this trade without fully acknowledging the importance of the languages and cultures of these trade partners. This is especially relevant given that Australia increasingly must develop niche markets where language and cultural skills will be particularly important.

The report of the ALLC does recognise that:

> Though English dominates for international transactional purposes, the consumers in the markets behind the facade of English-speaking traders and business executives think and deal through other languages. ...Business people will have to deal with locals whenever they move outside the cloisters of their own industry ... [and] some knowledge of the local language will be a distinct advantage (p. 11).

The report goes on to make 15 recommendations, all aimed at improving language skills for the needs of business and industry (pp. 14-27). While the central message of the ALLC may have been that language and culture skills should not be falsely promoted as more than necessary components in the successful development and conduct of business activities, both the preface and the first pages of Section 1 of

11 Cf. footnote 10

its report can be misleading (see Powell and Lewis of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, February and March 1994, and other newspaper reports). The issue of language as an economic resource will be taken up again in the discussion of the notion of 'balance' in the next chapter.

3. 4. Where do we go from here?

It could be said that the questions raised in the previous section are probably the result of Australia's geographical remoteness from the rest of the world. This, surely, has for a long time now nurtured a kind of insularity. It has indeed been suggested by some that multilingualism and multiculturalism only benefit the 'ethnics' and are detrimental to the national economy and to national integration. But it needs to be understood that the strong attachment of migrants to their languages and cultures is not a rejection of Australia's national language. It is well known in the bilingual research literature that most minority groups, including migrants, tend to become bilingual by learning the language of the dominant group. Having chosen to come to Australia to live, they are often very open to adding a new language and culture in order to be better accepted in the host country (Horvath and Vaughan 1991). This is particularly true of second and third generation Australians as shown in the patterns of language maintenance and shift to be found in many of the languages of wider teaching (see Chapter 6 for further discussion). On the other hand, it is the case that to date the great proportion of the English-speaking majority does not learn the language(s) of minority groups or of migrants (Hamers and Blanc 1983).

Furthermore, as Marshall and Gonzalez (1990) point out, the argument which suggests that multilingualism may be a major cause of national conflict is simply not borne out by the facts. On the one hand, there is the widely held Eurocentric view which equates a national language (ie, monolingualism) with nationhood, civilisation and development. However, a common language is neither a condition for nor a guarantee of national unity. On the other hand, it is not language diversity which, in and by itself, is the cause of intra-national conflict, but rather the refusal by those in power to recognise ethnic minorities and their denial of the rights of some sections of the community to take an active part in the nation-building process, which can lead to national strife and disunity. According to Beer (1985):

> It is not the presence of more than one language that threatens national unity; on the contrary, it is the denial of equal opportunity, one example of which is language legislation which attempts to cause minorities to shift languages through coercion and not persuasion, - through force of law instead of self-willed, natural assimilation (quoted in Marshall and Gonzalez 1990:37).

It also needs to be pointed out that Australia is not alone in dealing with issues raised by language contact. Far from being on the decline, language contact has become a general and massive phenomenon worldwide. The increasing movement of people has created a global village. Thus all countries in the world today are confronted with the issue of multilingualism to some degree. In the context of Europe 1992, it is not only public and supranational interests that are being catered for in so far as languages are concerned, but national, regional, local and private interests as well, with EC language focused programs such as Lingua, Erasmus, Comett and Mousquetaire (Girard 1991:62-76). According to Tschoumy (1991:77), the typical European of post-1992 will be speaking, not one, not two, but three languages: a mother tongue and two additional languages.

Even before the European Union, many individual countries exhibited some degree of multilingualism. If it can be argued that the 'One Nation, One Language' paradigm has been successful in countries like Sweden and the Netherlands, it is also a fact that most educated citizens in both countries speak English and German in addition to Swedish and Dutch.

In France where the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539, issued by King Francis I, established Francien (the dialect spoken at the capital around Ile-de-France) as the only official language of the nation, multilingualism today remains a sociolinguistic fact. In Brittany, Alsace, Provence, Corsica and elsewhere, regional speech forms have survived and are being actively promoted. Moreover, in 1975, the mother tongues of 11.2 million native French and 5.5 million migrants totalling 16.7 million French citizens were languages other than the official language of government and education (Breton 1991:20-32).

In Spain where Philip V imposed Castilian as the only language for official business (1716), and where a series of decrees (1768 and 1771) institutionalised Castilian as the sole language for primary and secondary education and for all business transactions (1772), regional languages continued to be used in local government and in business life (especially in Catalonia). During the 40 years of Franco dictatorship the use of Catalan, Basque and Galician were proscribed, and these languages were negatively referred to as 'dialects'. Despite these measures, these languages survived. In 1966, the 'Freedom of Expression Law' reversed the situation, and Article 3 of the present Spanish Constitution - passed in 1978 - now recognises these languages. In fact the Article recognises that all languages in Spain 'shall also be official in their respective autonomous communities in accordance with their statutes', and affirms that 'the richness of Spain's linguistic variety is a cultural heritage which shall be the object of special respect and protection'.

In Switzerland where the 'One Nation, One Language' paradigm was never adopted, four languages - Swiss German, French, Italian, and Romansch - all have official status in the Swiss confederation. The success of the Swiss confederation demonstrates that multilingualism does not lead to the destruction of the nation.

In Canada, the Department of External Affairs and International Trade has developed a new strategy in 1989, Going Global, to generate long-term economic growth. Among other things, Going Global supports programs to upgrade Canadian skills in culture and languages, particularly those related to Asia, through a Pacific 2000 Language and Awareness Fund.

Even in the United States, where an estimated 17.3 million Hispanics, 1.5 million Germans, 1.3 million Italians and 1.2 million Chinese are reported to speak their mother tongue at home (*Lettre de la francophonie*, 59, 1993:2), it is generally agreed that the concept of the 'melting pot' flies in the face of the various vibrant cultures and languages of that country.

Finally, in Africa, speaking more than one language and being literate in more than one culture is the rule rather than the exception.

It is in fact almost impossible to find a monolingual nation (Marshall and Gonzalez 1990:29) and it is now acknowledged that many countries that were widely held up as monolingual examples (eg, Somalia, Japan, Sweden, Finland, Germany, etc) also have several ethnic minorities in their territory. Therefore multilingualism in Australia is not a new situation, especially when compared with the original language situation of its original inhabitants. It is in fact a victory of pragmatism over the linguistic ideology that would equate the unity and prosperity of a nation with monolingualism. In 1945, 90 per cent of the Australian population were of Anglo-Celtic background, but by 1987 this proportion had decreased to 60 per cent. Figures released by the Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies (CAAIP) in 1987 show that, within the last three generations, 25 per cent of the Australian population were of non-English speaking background. Current immigration policies indicate that Australia's multilingual situation will continue to be enriched.

Monolingual Australia does not actually exist, nor has it really actually in the past, except in folklore. The notion of Anglo-Celtic unity, the combination of two antagonistic cultural traditions, is by definition an oxymoron. The focus on this argument only serves to distract attention from the real social and economic issues. The complex, but not unique, linguistic situation which resulted from immigration policy requires cultivation and development. Thus, the fundamental objective of the 1987 NPL was to recognise the multicultural reality and to ensure that Australia

derived maximum benefit from its multicultural and multilingual diversity. Australia's geographical proximity to a large number of culturally diverse non-English speaking countries was also an important consideration for the NPL. In the 1990s, it is at the centre of language policy making. It seems certain that the Australia of the twenty-first century will be an even more ethnically and linguistically diverse country. In that context, language policy developments have to respond to the present and anticipated needs of society.

But if governments have an interest in 'language rationalisation' (Laitin 1992:9), if they want to have a say in which languages are used as the medium of instruction in schools or for the purposes of administration, the citizens have their own agendas as to which languages they want to learn for occupational mobility or in order to have access to a range of services. These wants need to be reconciled both at the macro and the micro levels. Language decisions, more so than most social-choice decisions, require coordination.

Thus, much still remains to be done. Firstly, the linguistic potential of Australia - a pool of 2.3 million multilinguals - remains largely untapped. Secondly, much also remains to be done by way of helping the dominant language group to learn more about and appreciate LOTEs and especially the people who speak them. The data available show that over half of all Australian students never undertake any language study at school (Ozolins 1991:186). As Fishman (1985:479) puts it:

> Only if each collectivity contributes its own thread to the tapestry of the world history, and only if each is accepted and respected for making its own contribution, can nationalities finally also be ruled by a sense of reciprocity, learning and benefiting from each other's contributions as well.

Multilingualism is therefore perceived by many as a resource. Marshall and Gonzalez (1990:45-47), for instance, argue that it provides assets from the point of view of national security (eg, national defence in times of peace and war, diplomacy and trade), culture (eg, in integrating various cultures and building on their respective contributions), politics (eg, in reinforcing and guarding the democratic process), education (in fostering increased cognition) and nation-building (in guaranteeing equal access to socio-economic and political opportunities).

Finally, much remains to be done by way of satisfactorily addressing a vast range of language-in-education issues (eg, national curricula, teaching methodologies, syllabus assessment, course books, teacher education, languages in industry, interpreting and translating, self-access and distance education, professional development, literacy in LOTE, in-country experience, LOTE materials and kits, proficiency scales, etc - see Chapter 6).

3. 4. Summary

It is one thing to stop and take stock of what has been achieved and another to face up to the challenges of what remains to be done. Making such a reassessment is a major step towards addressing the problem at hand. The figures presented in this chapter may be disappointing to some. The hesitation of the business community with regard to the value of LOTE may be frustrating for others. But no one can deny that a great deal has been accomplished since the early 1970s. There has been a marked upsurge in the acceptance of multilingualism and multiculturalism, even though this national direction still has its critics. The fact still remains that most Australian immigrants - one out of every twelve Australians - speak a language other than English at home and that these languages have received and continue to receive support that is unprecedented in English mother-tongue countries anywhere. Why then would anyone want to move away from a multilingual Australia, when, as Marshall and Gonzalez (1990:49) point out, Australia is showing the way to the rest of the world by utilising multilingualism as 'a positive tool in the task of nation-building'?

derived maximum benefit from its multicultural and multilingual diversity. Australia's geographical proximity to a large number of culturally diverse non-English speaking countries was also an important consideration for the NPL. In the 1990s, it is at the centre of language policy making. It seems certain that the Australia of the twenty-first century will be an even more ethnically and linguistically diverse country. In that context, language policy developments have to respond to the present and anticipated needs of society.

But if governments have an interest in 'language rationalisation' (Laitin 1992:9), if they want to have a say in which languages are used as the medium of instruction in schools or for the purposes of administration, the citizens have their own agendas as to which languages they want to learn for occupational mobility or in order to have access to a range of services. These wants need to be reconciled both at the macro and the micro levels. Language decisions, more so than most social-choice decisions, require coordination.

Thus, much still remains to be done. Firstly, the linguistic potential of Australia - a pool of 2.3 million multilinguals - remains largely untapped. Secondly, much also remains to be done by way of helping the dominant language group to learn more about and appreciate LOTEs and especially the people who speak them. The data available show that over half of all Australian students never undertake any language study at school (Ozolins 1991:186). As Fishman (1985:479) puts it:

> Only if each collectivity contributes its own thread to the tapestry of the world history, and only if each is accepted and respected for making its own contribution, can nationalities finally also be ruled by a sense of reciprocity, learning and benefiting from each other's contributions as well.

Multilingualism is therefore perceived by many as a resource. Marshall and Gonzalez (1990:45-47), for instance, argue that it provides assets from the point of view of national security (eg, national defence in times of peace and war, diplomacy and trade), culture (eg, in integrating various cultures and building on their respective contributions), politics (eg, in reinforcing and guarding the democratic process), education (in fostering increased cognition) and nation-building (in guaranteeing equal access to socio-economic and political opportunities).

Finally, much remains to be done by way of satisfactorily addressing a vast range of language-in-education issues (eg, national curricula, teaching methodologies, syllabus assessment, course books, teacher education, languages in industry, interpreting and translating, self-access and distance education, professional development, literacy in LOTE, in-country experience, LOTE materials and kits, proficiency scales, etc - see Chapter 6)

3. 4. Summary

It is one thing to stop and take stock of what has been achieved and another to face up to the challenges of what remains to be done. Making such a reassessment is a major step towards addressing the problem at hand. The figures presented in this chapter may be disappointing to some. The hesitation of the business community with regard to the value of LOTE may be frustrating for others. But no one can deny that a great deal has been accomplished since the early 1970s. There has been a marked upsurge in the acceptance of multilingualism and multiculturalism, even though this national direction still has its critics. The fact still remains that most Australian immigrants - one out of every twelve Australians - speak a language other than English at home and that these languages have received and continue to receive support that is unprecedented in English mother-tongue countries anywhere. Why then would anyone want to move away from a multilingual Australia, when, as Marshall and Gonzalez (1990:49) point out, Australia is showing the way to the rest of the world by utilising multilingualism as 'a positive tool in the task of nation-building'?

4

The Theoretical Framework

[Language planning] must consider the facts of language within the fuller social context: it must consider the relevance of economic variables and interests ..., the relevance of social variables and interests ... the relevance of political variables and the relevance of demographic and psychological variables.
- J. Rubin and B. H. Jernudd 1971:xxi.

4. 1. Introduction

While multiculturalism is increasingly accepted as a core Australian cultural value, scepticism about Australia's multilingual policies is not just expressed by the business community, nor is it just related to economic issues. Everybody, being a native speaker of one or more languages, believes that they are an expert on language and that they know what needs to be done. This is a real problem and it makes language policy making and language planning implementation both challenging and frustrating.

It is important therefore, before moving on to the discussion of the present LOTE provision for the languages of wider teaching, to provide a clear definition of what is meant by language policy and language planning and how these terms are applied to the analysis of the issues involved. This chapter argues that language policy and language planning are complex processes that require a coordinated use of resources. These resources can only be worked out if all of those involved understand the nature of the task at hand (Jernudd and Baldauf 1987:180). It is in this context that the chapter goes on to address the proposition that language planning is a rational activity. This theoretical framework sets the scene for a better understanding of the issues raised in the following chapter.

4. 2. Language Policy and Language Planning: A Definition

Although the concepts of language policy and language planning are often used interchangeably and sometimes do overlap, they actually refer to different processes (see Table 5).

Table 5: A Theoretical Model

	Policy making	Planning Implemention
Level	**Norm**	**Function**
Society (Status Planning)	(1) selection (decision procedures) a. identification of a problem b. allocation of norm	(3) implementation (educational spread/language-in-education) a. corrective procedures b. evalutation
Language (Corpus Planning)	(2) codification (standardisation procedures) a. graphisation b. grammatication c. lexication	(4) elaboration (functional development) a. terminological modernisation b. stylistic development

Source: Adapted from Haugen (1983:275)

Language policy is generally defined as the deliberate choice(s) made by governments or any other authority with regard to the relationships between language and social life. At the societal level, it involves the identification of a language (or communication) problem, the formulation of the various alternatives available and making a decision with regard to the norm (a language or a dialect) to be made the standard or national language or to be introduced in the education system. At the language level, language policy provides an explicit, usually written (graphisation), form to the selected norm. This involves the linguistic corpus and general standardisation procedures such as the writing of grammars and the selection of an appropriate lexicon.

Language planning usually comes about as a result of language policy. At the societal level, it involves the work of carrying out or enforcing decisions made about the selected norm(s) and spreading them within government, school systems or the media. For instance, planning implementation is done by introducing the selected norm(s) either as a medium of instruction or as a subject to be taught in all schools and universities. The process of implementation has, built within it, a continuous evaluation procedure which assesses the whole plan to see where changes might be needed to improve the plan and ensure that the stated goals of

the language policy are achieved. At the language level, language planning undertakes stylistic and terminological modernisation of the norm to meet the functions of a modern world

Hence, while language policy is often concerned with national cohesion and can prove to be merely symbolic and may never be implemented, in the sense that it can be limited to the government's good intentions about improving the language situation, language planning is the actual accomplishment of the task of resolving the language problem identified.

While in recently independent nations, language policy and language planning have been concerned with all four aspects of the model presented in Table 5, in Australia and other developed countries, they are concerned with multi ethnic language problems with special attention to minority languages, that is to say procedures (1) and (3) (see Table 5).

This is what Kloss (1969) refers to as **status planning.** As shown in Table 5, status planning deals with the allocation of languages or language varieties to given functions (eg, as medium of instruction, official language, or vehicle of mass communication). Examples of change in language functions or of allocation of languages to new functions are replete in the history of nations. Familiar examples include the shift from Latin to modern European languages for literary and scholarly purposes, the shift from Anglo Saxon to Latin, then to Norman French and finally to English in England, the shift from Dutch to Bahasa Indonesia as the language of government administration in Indonesia, the shift from English to Swahili in Tanzania, and the recent shift from French to Arabic as the sole official language in Algeria. Status planning typically works for change and is usually invoked when changes in the functional allocation of a community's language(s) are seen as desirable

One function of status planning is to understand the forces that influence language in a society (eg, language maintenance and shift, language attitudes), and to learn how to take advantage of these forces in order to achieve planned objectives. Another major use of status planning is to recognise and support the linguistic diversity of the nation and to make sure that the varied linguistic functions in a polity are supported within the limits of available resources (see Jernudd 1986)

Kloss distinguishes status planning from **corpus planning** (also see Table 5). As can be seen in Table 5, corpus planning is a primarily linguistic process as it deals with issues of coining new terms, reforming spelling or adopting a new script and formulating the rules of correct grammar. Cooper (1989) argues that form follows function in corpus planning, in the sense that structures are selected on

the assumption that a given form, overt or covert, can be served by a modification or treatment of the corpus, and that the desired communicative function precedes the selected structure (Cooper 1989). Therefore, corpus planning, in order to be successful, must be 'a delicate balancing act' (Fishman 1983a:117) between the old and the new, between traditionalism and rationality. Corpus planning requires sensitivity to what the target population will 'like, learn, and use' (Fishman 1983a:115).

While the distinction between status planning and corpus planning is useful at the theoretical level, in practice it is often impossible to delineate between the two (Fishman 1974:23). As indicated above, in most situations, and especially in the case of nation-states emerging from colonial experience and seeking a linguistic national identity, both corpus planning and status planning co-occur.

More recently, Cooper (1989:157) has redefined aspects of corpus and status planning and suggested that language-in-education planning (which he calls acquisition planning), be considered a third focus of the model. **Language-in-education planning** is defined as the organised efforts to promote the learning of a language and hence increase its number of speakers. According to Cooper (1989), the activities of the Alliance Française or the Gœthe Institute are good examples of acquisition planning. However, language-in-education planning is arguably much more pervasive than that. Whenever the government of any nation-state makes a decision concerning the language(s) of its education system, this decision falls within the realm of language-in-education planning at the societal level. Although the school context is not the sole environment for language learning, it remains one of the major mediums of language-in-education planning. The education system as a whole makes a major contribution to the spread and maintenance of the selected language of instruction and of those that are studied as school subjects. Nevertheless, Table 5 shows that language-in-education planning is only part of status planning and a result of educational spread.

As Australia is concerned neither with the selection of a norm nor with corpus planning, it is language-in-education planning or the educational spread of LOTE that best characterises the Australian context since the 1987 NPL. The status of English in Australia is not questioned or threatened in any way and Australian English is the *de facto* official language of Australia. Thus, unlike the United States for instance, there is no dominant minority second language (eg, Spanish). As Clyne (1991b:20) points out, the number of speakers of Italian, the most widely used community language in Australia, is exceeded by the combined total of Greek and Chinese speakers. Those who advocate multilingualism in Australia base it on an assumption of the pre-eminence of English in this country. Hence, the NPL and the ALLP are essentially creating a climate for language development where

the learning of English and of languages other than English are clearly matters of language-in-education planning. It could be said that the thrust of both documents is nationism (as opposed to nationalism) (Fishman 1968:7-9) or the pragmatic issues of running the government, the administration and the education system. The ALLP's focus is the societal level (as opposed to the purely linguistic level; see Table 5) as it is based on the belief that multicultural education can lead to greater tolerance of linguistic differences between ethnic groups and within the broader community. Australia's language-in-education planning is future oriented and aims at meeting the language needs of Australia by stressing the importance of increased language competence across the educational system (see Leal et al. 1991:184 and Chapters 1-7).

This important distinction between language policy making and language planning implementation suggests that these involve different roles and processes. One can therefore see why, even though Australia has a well developed set of policies at Federal and State/Territory levels (see Chapters 1 and 2), the actual implementation of these policies has lagged behind in some cases, and the state of LOTE teaching/learning reveals a number of deficiencies (see Chapter 3).

4. 3. The Fallacy of Language Planning as a Rational Activity

When language planning began to develop as a field of inquiry in the 1950s and 1960s, it was first conceived of as an efficient, neutral and scientific mechanism for the determination of answers to questions related to the use of language(s) in various societies. As a result, most early definitions of language planning saw it as a rational, organised, systematic, theory-based activity. Tauli (1974:56) defined it as '... the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national or international languages'.

It has been argued by some, in Australia, that language policy likewise should be treated as a rational and problem solving activity. Ingram (1992:84) for example argues that policy making is rational in the sense that it draws on a large variety of contributory sciences such as theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, political science, demographic geography, psychology, economics and marketing. Ingram also believes that 'the **rational approach** to policy making entails a **rational understanding** of the issues involved, thence the postulation of a 'theory', 'principles or approach to solving the problem...' [emphasis added]. He further argues that an integral part of this rational approach is evaluation. This framework of analysis leads Ingram to make the following criticism of the NPL:

> ... Policy making is also 'theory-making' because the policy is essentially a theory about the nature of the problem and how to resolve it. National language policy making, for example, essentially proposes a theory or policy about the nature of society's language needs at the societal, group or individual levels and how to meet these needs. As a theory, its validity has to be tested and hence evaluation is an essential (but often omitted) phase of **rational policy making.** Because it was largely omitted from the 1987 national policy on languages and hence **because there was no significant review and ongoing policy development mechanism built into that policy,** the Government has found it necessary to promulgate its Green Paper with the expectation of a White Paper in mid-1991 (Ingram 1992:85-88) [emphasis added].

While calling for language policy evaluation does not necessarily make one a rationalist, the argument about rational policy making does not seem to differentiate between language policy making and language planning implementation (the latter being often limited to language-in-education planning in this case) as we have done in Section 4.2. It is not clear, for instance, whether the evaluation criterion Ingram refers to is to be used before or after the implementation of a plan or to one that is carried out by an outside reviewer. What is clear however is that an evaluation mechanism was built in the NPL. Hence the Green Paper and the White Paper were both a result of this evaluation mechanism in as much as changes from the NPL to the ALLP and from NLIA to NLLIA were 'based on a review of the current language and literacy needs within the context of Commonwealth, State and Territory policies, programs and actual or potential roles and existing circumstances' (DEET 1991b:iii). It is therefore not entirely correct to suggest that the 1987 NPL had no review mechanism, since both the Green Paper and the White Paper set out to address this problem. Both documents were an integral part of the review mechanism. This review process is in fact a continuing one. The ALLP and bodies created under this policy (eg, ALLC and NLLIA) are currently being or have recently been reviewed.

However, if the 1987 NPL can be viewed as deficient from a rationalist perspective, the ALLP is even less of an overall planning document. Clyne (1991b:13-20), Moore (1991:45-85), Nicholas et al. (1993:25-30) and Ingram himself (1991b:4-14) have criticised the White Paper and asked whether it was abandoning the previous political commitment found in the NPL which is seen as crucial to any language policy. Ingram wrote, in substance, that the ALLP

> ...is not so much a language policy [but] a set of guidelines on language education policy in Australia, and **an extension of the 1987 national policy ... It is still deficient in structure with insufficient attempt made to**

> **integrate identified needs with specifically stated goals, policy, implementation, rationale, evaluation, and on-going policy review and development** (Ingram 1991b:13) [emphasis added].

This rationale analysis fails to understand the nature of government policy making which is often based on political and short term economic factors and which includes its own evaluation criteria and constraints. As a result of this realisation other scholars in the field have come to question the notion of (impartial) rationality in language planning (cf. Cooper 1989, Fishman 1983b, Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971), and point out that this process is inextricably bound up with other realities which precede and succeed it and which place important constraints on the way it is carried out.

Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971:211) add that they 'do not define language planning as an idealistic and exclusively linguistic activity but as a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society', while Fishman (1983b:383) sees it as '... the plaything of larger forces' and Edwards (1985) stresses the fact that its linguistic aspects are in fact less important than its social, political, administrative, and even military aspects. Hence, he does not accept the view of language planning as a 'value-free', 'politically neutral' discipline, since many of the real-life situations which it addresses involve contexts 'riddled with opinion, prejudice and emotion' (1985:89).

Although many definitions of the field of language planning emphasise its role in solving language or communication problems, it would seem therefore that this discipline is bound to be governed by socio-economic and political realities and that, far from being a rational activity, it can be, in Cooper's words, 'a messy affair – *ad hoc*, haphazard, and emotionally driven' (1989:41). Cooper goes so far as to suggest that it is doubtful that language planning would even be undertaken if it were not for the promotion of non-linguistic ends and concludes that defining language planning as the solution of communication problems is in fact misleading (1989:34-35).

Although language planning is commonly perceived as an activity undertaken by professional linguists, language plans are usually deliberately made by some organised body (most commonly, some level of government) to introduce systematic language change with particular aims in mind. Therefore plans are often government initiated responses to perceived national needs. Hence professional linguists usually run a distant second to politicians and administrators in the deliberate shaping of language. Linguists on the other hand are not the only ones qualified to make informed judgements on language planning matters. Individuals from a number of other academic disciplines are often involved in

the process - anthropologists, economists, historians, international relations specialists, learning psychologists and political scientists. In addition, the education sector as well as other segments of society have an important role to play in terms of language-in-education planning, when decisions have to be made with regard to who will teach the language(s), at what point in the educational system, to what segment of the population, through what methodologies, with what materials, and at what costs.

Furthermore, even though manipulation of language invariably occurs at government level, language planning is ultimately in the hands of the community of speakers, not in those of professional linguists, language planners or State bureaucrats. While much can be done to cajole individuals, ultimately it is the language user's willingness to accept change that will determine the success or the failure of a language policy. In other words, no matter how rational, forceful or appropriate the language plan may be, it requires the acceptance of the speech community if it is to have maximum effect.

As a result, changes in language policy are not always sought in order to address genuine (socio)linguistic goals, partly because such changes are often made on political or economic grounds. Language planning is therefore carried out for the attainment of non-linguistic ends such as national integration, economic development, mass mobilisation and the pacification or co-option of minority groups (cf. Cooper 1989:35). According to Karam (1974:108):

> Regardless of the type of language planning, in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with a political, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and/or religious situation.

In almost all cases, the dominant motivation for language planning is ultimately directed towards practical ends, and the forces that affect the decisions are often only marginally related to real communication issues. The complex linguistic situations of most Third World countries, the language problem in Quebec and the recent law of Arabisation in Algeria are but a few examples that bear witness to this reality (see for example Djité 1992:15-28 and Bourhis 1994).

4. 4. Summary

The foregoing discussion shows that language policy making and language planning implementation are complex processes that, when taken seriously, require 'negotiation' between various players at all levels. These processes do not take

place in a vacuum, but consider language facts in their social, political, economic, psychological and demographic contexts (Rubin and Jernudd 1971). The term 'negotiation' itself emphasises the fact that the solution to the problem is not always a mathematical one. Language issues are inextricably linked with political processes and important national goals which are not easily managed or governed by reason alone, but are inevitably value-laden and involve powerful sentiments. Thus, all interests at stake have to be taken into account. The mediating role of linguists can be vital to finding solutions. But linguists should only be part of a multidisciplinary team of specialists working together to come up with an acceptable and workable compromise.

Linguists will have to come to terms with the fact that language planning will never be immune to 'partisan inclinations and ideological sympathies' (Cobarrubias 1983b:6) or to economic influences. As for government authorities, they too will have to acknowledge the importance of being informed of the nature of the language problem, its socio-economic determinants and implications, and the alternative remedies appropriate in terms of macro-linguistics and micro-linguistics (eg, data on language use, language maintenance and shift, language attitudes, etc). As Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971:196-97) put it, 'language as a changeable societal resource requires the cooperative and planned efforts of political, educational, economic, and linguistic authorities'.

Given the complex nature of language planning and in view of Australian circumstances between 1986 and 1993, language policy making and language planning implementation are politically and economically driven. What are the indications of this in policy and in reality? This is the question that Chapter 5 tries to answer.

5

Language Policy for a Purpose: the Emphasis on Businesss and Trade

If you wish to buy from us, there is no need to speak German,
but if you wish to sell to us ...
- a German Minister for Economic Affairs (Quoted in Niebel 1988:37)

5. 1. Introduction

The period between 1986 and 1992 saw a decline in Australia's economic prosperity. This has placed a new emphasis on the link between language-in-education and Australia's economic development. This emphasis was reaffirmed in 1988, with the publication by the Asian Studies Council of a report for the study of Asia in Australia entitled *National Strategy*. The report claimed that 'Asia is central to our trade, our foreign relations and our future' and stressed that the transformation required would not be achieved 'without Asia-related skills' (*National Strategy* 1988:2-3). Many subsequent reports have focused on the importance of language skills in international business and concluded that critical to business success is the ability to understand and negotiate with foreign customers and partners. The framework for language planning discussed in the preceding chapter indicated why, in a context of economic recession and limited resources, an emphasis on the economy is legitimate. However, to what extent should economic concerns drive language policy making and language planning implementation? What are the interests at stake? This chapter is an attempt to summarise the relevance of LOTE to the Australian economy. It shows why it is generally believed that language is an economic resource.

5. 2. LOTE Skills and the Business Community

In Australia, the economic recession of the late 1980s, combined with the realisation of the importance of language skills to the economy at a time when there was a continuing decline in language study, has led to a resurgence of the economic rationale in language policy making and language-in-education planning. Australia's pattern of trade has continued to change away from English language trading partners toward those in the Asia-Pacific region. Hence, Professor Headly Beare points out that:

> At a time when Korea has displaced New Zealand as Australia's third largest overseas market, when 45 per cent of Australia's exports go to East Asia and its manufacturing exports to Japan alone exceed its total sales to Britain, when 38 per cent of Australia's new settlers are from Asia compared with only 19 per cent from Britain and Ireland, only 3 per cent of Australia's Year 12 students are learning an Asian language compared with only 10 per cent studying a European language (Professor Headley Beare quoted in Eltis 1991).

Likewise it is acknowledged that, whereas it is becoming increasingly evident to the Australian people that language is good business, the low level of linguistic ability amongst Australian managers places Australia at a considerable trading disadvantage. In the Centre for Export Marketing (Australian Graduate School of Management) study of 1300 senior and middle managers and 500 potential managers, it was found that very few managers were equipped to operate overseas because they did not speak another language (less than 1 per cent) or had no cross-cultural awareness skills (1 per cent). Many human resource managers did not even know the language and cultural skills of their managers (60 per cent) and very few prospective managers were prepared to 'learn another language' or 'live and work in Asia'. The study concluded that language skills were not highly valued and were rated as low priority areas for the managers.

In another study of Australian businesses operating in Indonesia, the Languages Unit of the University of New South Wales found that, despite the fact that nearly 70 per cent of companies reported communications breakdowns because of language, only 13 per cent of Australian companies in Jakarta attempted to do business in the Indonesian language. This study concluded that the ability to understand and negotiate with foreign customers and partners, which is critical to business success, appeared to be woefully lacking in this instance.

At a time when meeting the challenge of the economic imperative requires the Australian business community to become literate in the languages and cultures of other countries, this lack of skills is a matter of serious concern. This concern has given rise to two kinds of fallacies on:

1. The issue of proficiency in LOTE, and
2. The notion of 'balance' in the provision of LOTE.

5. 2. 1. The Issue of Proficiency

The concern about the widespread lack of language skills in the business community has led to the dangerously naive view that business executives have to become proficient in the languages of the countries where they intend to do business in order to negotiate in those languages. Although language skills are relevant to business and industry and should be considered as an integral part of economic reform, they clearly need be seen as ancillary skills in this area. In one of the profiles of the nine key languages[12], Marriott et al. (1993:7) wrote that the past two decades have witnessed 'a departure from the view that we should teach students **to speak like the Japanese speak to each other**' [emphasis added]. They stress the fact that 'an undergraduate major alone does not necessarily equip students with the proficiency required for professional use of Japanese, particularly in specialised areas...' (Marriott et al. 1993:7).

This assertion is echoed in other reports of the nationwide research project on the profiles of nine key languages (eg, Chinese, Indonesian / Malay and Italian Profile reports), as well as in the report of the ALLC (*Speaking of Business*, February 1994; see Chapters 2 and 3). According to all these reports, it is very difficult to achieve fluency in a LOTE as part of the current three year undergraduate degree, because the number of hours normally available (about 540) are 'far too few to achieve even a threshold command of a second language' (cf. Worsley 1993:18, Di Biase et al. 1994:25, ALLC 1994:7 and Appendix 5, pp. 129-30). Language learners are generally trained to deal with 'contact situations', in other words, they are made aware of the linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural behaviour common to 'foreigner talk' (see Clyne 1981) and are taught strategies which allow them to monitor, evaluate and adjust their speech in order to prevent miscommunication and misunderstanding when interacting with native speakers of the language they speak (Marriott et al. 1993:8). The level of language skills, which can always be identified by native speakers, are most useful to business people to 'break the ice' or 'eavesdrop' and help them adopt the appropriate and accepted behaviour in a business negotiation. However, for most language learners, such skills are inadequate to engage in serious business negotiations. It takes a much longer time for learners to acquire a language if their goal is attain a proficiency commensurate with their own mother tongue.

The White Paper acknowledges the importance of the quality of language skills necessary to engage in successful international contacts and states that:

> Widespread language learning by new learners in schools on its own can not achieve the advanced proficiency levels required for Australia's international language needs. It is essential to encourage some students to continue studying languages to advanced skills (DEET 1991b:77).

12 The Profiles are discussed in more detail in the following chapter

The implications of this discussion are that there is a serious need for language professionals such as interpreters and translators, individuals who are well versed in the linguistic, cultural, social and technical aspects of the target language and have received quality training to do this job. No program of language teaching can produce high quality native speaker like language professionals as part of a three or four year university course. It is in this context that Neustupny distinguishes between three types of literacy (see Neustupny 1989, 1991 and Marriott et al. 1993:4-5). These are:

1. **Literacy 1:** This level focuses mainly on a general sociocultural awareness about the people and their language and targets the general population.

2. **Literacy 2:** This is the level of literacy necessary for those who are in frequent but not permanent contact with people of a different linguistic and cultural background. Although contacts at this level do take place in English, it is necessary to be aware of the sociolinguistic and sociocultural strategies used in contact situations in the language of the interlocutor, in addition to having some language skills.

3. **Literacy 3:** This level requires good linguistic knowledge in addition to sociocultural and sociolinguistic knowledge.

Thus there are different levels of linguistic and cultural competence required depending on the particular type of interaction in which individuals engage. According to Neustupny, Australia has so far concentrated on trying to provide Literacy 3 in languages other than English at the tertiary level. He acknowledges however that the language skills of university graduates at this level are still not comparable to those of native speakers. The language skills of interpreters and translators need to be, if not similar to, very close to those of native speakers. This kind of proficiency requires much more than Literacy 3. To put it differently, language graduates need further training in order to become interpreters or translators; neither they nor the business person can improvise as interpreters or translators.

Thus any notion which suggests that there is a general expectation for business people to be proficient in LOTE is clearly a fallacy.

5. 2. 2. The Notion of 'Balance' in the Provision of LOTE

The second fallacy of the language and economy debate has to do with the notion of 'balance' in the provision of LOTE. The concern about taking full advantage of all of Australia's language skills has often been expressed in terms of the choice of

languages as being 'uneven' (DEET 1991a:15) and of 'disparities' between languages (DEET 1991b:71). The use of the terms 'uneven' and 'disparities' strongly suggests that these ought to be corrected or 'balanced'.

A number of State policies also focused on this notion of 'disparities' and have made policy proposals with regard to how the provision and delivery of languages other than English can be 'redressed'. For example, at the Premiers' Conference of December 1992 in Perth, one of the major decisions taken had to do with developing a national strategy to improve the teaching of Asian languages and cultures in Australian schools. This decision was endorsed, according to Press reports (*The Sydney Morning Herald* of 8 December 1992:1 and 8), 'as a means of improving the nation's trade opportunities' and because 'Asian language development is a matter of national importance, requiring urgent and high level attention at a national level'. It was also reported that this decision means that

> the classroom focus will shift dramatically away from French, Italian, German and other European languages towards Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian (*Daily Telegraph Mirror* of 8 December 1992:1 and 2)

A closer examination of this notion of 'balance' reveals two underlying assumptions:

1. The narrative of 'overthrow' (see Cryle et al 1993), and
2. The narrative of 'economic rationalism'.

The notion of balance is used in two different ways. At one level, it is presented as a dichotomy between 'Asian' and 'European' languages. However, this has often been a reductionist approach which aims at substituting Japanese for languages like French or German as suggested by the newspaper report quoted above. In other words, there is a general belief that this argument is being used to collapse the generic term 'Asian' languages into a single representative language, namely Japanese, currently perceived as the language of trade *par excellence*, and to ignore the other important languages of Asia (eg, Korean, Chinese and Indonesian/Malay) and 'European' languages. Hence, the Queensland Draft Strategy Plan for 1993-1996, pointed out that 'although the balance between Asian and European languages is being established, there is still a strong leaning towards Japanese to the exclusion of Chinese and Indonesian' (Queensland *Languages Other Than English and International Studies: Draft Strategy Plan 1993-1996*, p. 8). The same point was emphasised by Williams when he wrote:

> In the rush to make ourselves Asia-literate, we have become obsessed with Japan at the expense of other major countries in the region. The languages of Indonesia and Thailand remain comparatively ignored (*The Sydney Morning Herald* of 23 November, 1992:23).

These critics base their views in part on the changing roles of other Asian languages in view of the economic impact of the countries in which they are spoken as mother tongues in the Asia-Pacific region. Of these other Asian languages, Korean is an important case in point. While the total Australian imports from Korea rose from $1 195.1 million in 1990 to $1 263.7 million in 1991, total Australian exports to Korea rose from $2 986 million in 1990 to $3 400.6 million in 1991 (*Composition of Trade Australia 1991*).

When the notion of balance is used in this manner, then it raises the following question: How would the exclusive promotion of a particular Asian language do to the Australian economy what the promotion of English alone could not? Furthermore, such a definition of balance would ultimately create an 'unfortunate and continuing atmosphere' and a feeling of 'debilitating competition' (Clyne 1991b:1 and 17) among LOTEs which would cause considerable damage to the LOTE policy itself. Should notice be taken of the constant barrage of negative messages about European languages being of less immediate relevance to Australia's strategic interests, thereby reducing motivation to study languages, there is no guarantee that Asian languages would benefit from it. Thus, the issue of balance should not be one of competition between Asian and European languages. Rather, it is a question of whether or not one ought to be Asia literate and Europe literate. The emphasis on one, to the detriment of the other, will be partial, limited and unsatisfactory.

The real issue of balance arises because Asian languages, and Japanese among them, have in fact been neglected for quite a long time. That situation had to change, if only because many more Australians need to develop linguistic as well as sociolinguistic and sociocultural literacy about Asia. However, given the low LOTE participation rate, the study of LOTE needs to be further developed, and this would be best done by increasing LOTE provision generally, rather than by shifting the limited resources available from European languages to Asian languages. Australia's economic difficulties will not be solved solely by improvements in the teaching/learning of LOTE, nor will they be solved by focusing all the resources on any one language. Finding solutions to Australia's economic situation will be a complex process. Every step in this process involves the need for realistic and long term oriented solutions.

The notion of balance is also often measured in quantitative terms. In a world of economic rationalists, everything has now got to be justified, not in terms of quality, but in terms of quantity. Languages are regarded as commodities and are expected to fit into the 'fetishism' of this new way of satisfying accountability. There seems to be an expectation that money invested in language planning should bring a return for the government of the day. But if languages are indeed resources which can foster trade, they are resources in many more ways than coal, wheat or wool.

While economic imperatives may have contributed to boosting the value of learning a LOTE in Australia, they carry with them some dangers. The real challenge is to become globally literate, to increase language learning opportunities and language competence, to add to the pool of languages in education and to promote a holistic approach to language learning. Languages are learnt and passed on to younger generations for other reasons than to see these generations transformed into salesmen. It should be borne in mind that languages are learnt for broader cognitive, linguistic, cultural and social needs, and that successful second or foreign language learners often have a range of reasons why they chose to study a given language. While it would be unrealistic not to acknowledge the economic imperatives of Australia's external language needs, an emphasis on expected economic returns for languages should not become an attack on recent progress made in the development of language policies across the country, especially when it is difficult to predict exactly what languages will be needed in twenty years' time.

5. 3. LOTE Skills and Employment/Career Opportunities

Language skills are not just important for the general economic prosperity of Australia. They have a direct effect on individuals and their own socio-economic well-being. In 1975, a working party of the universities emphasised the limited opportunities for employment of language graduates and advocated the adoption of measures that would make language training available to students in professional courses. It also expressed the hope that language skills could be used in practical situations, in commerce and industry (Working Party 1975:29, 30-31, 41). In 1990, Stanley et al. reported on a survey of newspaper advertisements (the *Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*) for positions with a LOTE requirement during the months of August and September 1980, 1985 and 1989 and found a dramatic increase in the number of advertisements specifying a foreign language ability from 1980 to 1989 (Stanley et al. 1990:129-138). The authors noted the diversity of occupations and languages required over the years, as well as a shift towards Asian languages. Using the same variables (same newspapers and same

months in the year), the ALLC replicated this survey in 1992. It also found an increase in the number of job advertisements which required a language as a condition of employment. The findings of these two surveys are summarised in Table 6.

Table 6: *Survey of Newspaper Advertisements for Positions with a LOTE Requirement*

Years	1980		1985		1989		1992	
Months in the Year	Aug	Sep	Aug	Sep	Aug	Sep	Aug	Sep
The Australian	0	3	18	9	28	43	79	79
The Sydney Morning Herald	4	5	14	7	29	15	182	163
Monthly Total	4	8	32	16	57	58	261	242
2 Month Total	12		48		115		503	

Source: Speaking of Business 1994:113

The trends in these surveys are confirmed by statistics on the number of language fluent staff required in such areas as the tourism industry, where the expected needs in 1995 (8454 staff, all languages combined) will have risen by 75 per cent over the 1991 requirement for this industry (4821 staff). The tourism language and cultural skills requirements alone are expected to increase from a total of 9 500 management and staff with working language skills and/or cultural skills in 1991 to 33 300 in the year 2000. Requirements for customer contact staff with working language skills and/or cultural skills will increase from 40 800 in 1991 to a total of 170 800 employees in the year 2000 (National Centre for Studies in Travel and Tourism and R. T. Kinnaird and Associates 1992:13). According to the National Centre for Studies in Travel and Tourism and R. T. Kinnaird and Associates, these numbers are directly related to the estimates of Australia-bound tourists between 1991 and 2000. Overall, these numbers are expected to increase from 6.5 million to over 15 million.

Taking the perspective of language learners, Marriott et al. conducted a survey of graduates of Japanese courses at Australian tertiary institutions in mid-1992 to determine how Japanese language graduates were employed and to what extent they were using their Japan-related expertise (1993:1-23). Of the 326 graduates

who responded to the question regarding employment status, 56 per cent were employed on a full-time basis, 26.38 per cent were employed on a part-time/fractional or casual basis and 17.48 per cent were not in regular paid employment. With regard to the sector of employment, most of the graduates (29 per cent) worked in the education sector (all levels combined) and hospitality/tourism sector (18 per cent). Only a small proportion of graduates worked directly in primary and secondary industries or in international trade (3.53 per cent and 1 per cent, respectively). Nearly 55 per cent of graduates claimed that a major or substantial part of their work was related to Japan; while for 45.09 per cent of them only a minor part or none of their work was related to Japan. Furthermore, while more respondents claimed to use their Japanese language skills (57.14 per cent) and cultural knowledge (52.18 per cent) 'daily or once or twice a week', the remainder claimed to use their Japanese language skills (42.85 per cent) and their cultural knowledge (47.81 per cent) only 'once or twice a month, occasionally, or never'.

Marriott et al. note that a majority of the respondents (85 per cent) were Arts students who had studied Japanese for at least three years. They also note that 77 per cent of these graduates were studying for a postgraduate qualification and generally undertook other types of training (especially in computing and technical or professional development) to enhance their employment/career prospects. Thus, the authors conclude that:

> An undergraduate major alone does not necessarily equip students with the proficiency required for professional use of Japanese, particularly in specialised areas... (Marriott et al. 1993:7).

An analysis of the ownership of the organisations which employed the graduates showed that 58.95 per cent of the respondents were working for Australian companies or organisations and 26.86 per cent worked for a Japanese company or organisation or for another foreign firm. In this connection, Marriott et al. write:

> One controversial issue at present concerns the employment of Japanese-speaking Australians as against Japanese nationals in tourism-related positions, including tour guiding where use of the Japanese language is obligatory... **the availability of a large number of Australians with sufficient competence and interest to become tour guides is highly unlikely** (Marriott et al. 1993, Chapter 7:16) [emphasis added].

Some would argue that the prevailing situation for Japanese language graduates is the difficulty in finding employment in the tourism industry, especially in tour guiding, translating and interpreting, because of the strong preference by both Japanese and Australian companies for Japanese nationals. Whatever the reason,

when promoting a language care needs to be taken not to raise false hopes of employment (Nicholas et al. 1993:287, 316-319). The backlash which may ensue could be detrimental to the future of all LOTEs.

5. 4. Aspects of Australian Trade Patterns

This section provides a summary of Australia's trade relationships and trade opportunities in connection with LOTE skills. The analysis is limited to countries in which the nine languages of wider teaching in the Australian education system are spoken and is substantially based on materials presented in the NLLIA's *Profiles of the Nine Key Languages* (see Campbell et al. 1993, Cryle et al. 1993, Di Biase et al. 1994, Fernandez et al. 1993, Marriott et al. 1993, Smith et al. 1993, Tamis and Gauntiett 1993, Valverde 1994 and Worsley 1993).

5. 4. 1. Trade patterns with the Arab World

Arabic is a major international language spoken in more than 20 countries with a total population of well over 200 million. It is also a language of great religious significance.

Trade with 18 Arab countries is in Australia's favour. Australian exports (mainly food, live animals and minerals) to these countries account for about 4 per cent of the total exports while imports from the Arab world represent less than 3 per cent of total Australian imports (mainly fuel from the Gulf). The surplus in favour of Australia's trade balance was $566 million in 1988-89 and $586 million in 1989-90. In a recent study, 53.2 per cent of Australian export managers predicted that the markets in the Middle East would expand (Valverde 1990). A telephone survey conducted by Stanley et al. (1990) also showed that Arabic ranked third on the list of languages which were perceived as important in the export business.

5. 4. 2. Trade Patterns with the Chinese-Speaking World

China is the most populous nation in the world with an estimated 1 160 017 381 inhabitants in 1991. The populations, economies and cultures of Chinese societies rank among the largest, most dynamic and most significant in the world. Chinese is not only spoken in the People's Republic of China, but also in Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and other overseas Chinese communities. In 1991, the combined GDP of these three countries was almost US$600 billion with an exceptional ten per cent rate of average growth. Four of Australia's top ten export destinations are Chinese-speaking and represent 13.47 per cent of Australia's total exports. This volume of exports is second only to Australian exports to Japan.

The economy of the People's Republic of China has changed fundamentally since 1979 and has been one of the fastest growing economies in the world in the 1980s. The gross national product increased at an average rate of 9.3 per cent a year and was particularly strong in 1985-89 when it reached an average of 11.6 per cent a year. Australia has had trade links with the People's Republic of China since 1949. With the beginning of the wheat trade in the 1960s, China became an important export destination for Australian goods. However, trade did not diversify until 1972, when the Whitlam Government established diplomatic relations with China. As a result, while China received only 0.74 per cent of Australia's total exports in 1972, the total volume of exports rose to 4.71 per cent in 1986. By 1990, the total bilateral trade was estimated at $2.6 billion, making China Australia's ninth largest trade partner. In 1993, Australian exports to China increased by 56 per cent and a recent trade forum estimated that Australian business could make more than $1 billion in China in the next few years.

An estimated 80 per cent of the total population of Singapore speaks Chinese. In November 1991, the per capita income in Singapore was estimated at US$11 810 (CSSA *National Strategy* 1992:19), making this country the second most prosperous country in Asia. Singapore is Australia's third largest market in Asia (after Japan and South Korea) and the fifth largest overall. Similarly, Hong Kong's economy has grown rapidly in the 1980s, with a gross domestic product averaging 8 per cent from 1980 to 1988. Hong Kong has increasingly become an important market for Australian products. In 1990, Hong Kong was the single largest source of full-fee paying overseas students coming to Australia[13].

Equally important to Australia's trade is Taiwan. In 1990, this country was Australia's seventh largest export market, with exports valued at $1801 million. It is estimated that in 1992, this country alone provided 60 000 visitors to Australia (CSAA *National Strategy* 1992:19). Taiwan is also a potentially large market for Australian education services. According to Smith et al. (1993:140), the number of student visas issued has increased from 482 in 1987-88 to 1399 in 1990-91, after having reached 1630 in 1989-90.

It is estimated that, in 1990, education services to all overseas students injected $870 million into the Australian economy. Most of these students come from Asia (CSAA *National Strategy* 1992:19).

5. 4. 3. Trade Patterns with France and the Francophone World

French is both an official and a working language of many international, European and African organisations. It is estimated that 70 per cent of the scientists around

13 A recent study commissioned by the Bureau of Immigration Research estimates that, in 1993, 52 000 overseas full-fee paying students contributed $1 14 billion to the Australian economy (Baker et al. 1993).

the world can read French (Lo Bianco and Monteil 1990:87) and that the French language comes third (9.8 per cent) as a leading language of scientific publications, after English (65 per cent) and Russian (12 per cent).

In 1990, 6.7 per cent of Australia's exports went to the Francophone world (ie, France, Switzerland, Canada, Belgium, Luxembourg, French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Algeria and Vanuatu). According to the statistics provided by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australian exports to France in 1990 had a value of $786 million while imports totalled $1164 million. There has been an increase in the last few years in the number of French companies establishing branches in Australia. In 1980, there were about four new companies a year setting up in Australia, from one a year from 1950 to 1980. This number increased to about ten new companies a year in 1986, reaching 14 in 1988. The overall number of French companies in Australia is now nearing 150.

France by itself is less important economically to Australia than the range of other French-speaking countries to which the French language gives efficient access. There are in fact some 42 French-speaking countries around the world, representing at least 320 million people. The opportunities for Australia to penetrate these markets are considerable.

5. 4. 4. Trade Patterns with Germany

German has national or official status in seven countries: Germany, Austria, Liechtenstein, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Belgium and Italy. In the first three countries, German has solo-official status; in Switzerland and Luxembourg, it has co-official status. In the last two countries, German has regional official status in the eastern border areas of Belgium and South Tyrol respectively. The German language plays a prominent cultural role, in terms of its contribution to philosophy, music, the arts, literature, the humanities and related fields. It is also one of the most important languages of science and technology. Ammon (1991:38) estimates the number of mother tongue or first language speakers of German at about 96-98 million and the number of learners of German as a foreign language at 40 million or more.

The economic strength of the German language is based on the German Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which, at US$1090 billion, is the third highest in the world. This makes German an important language for trade. As the second largest export market within the European Community and the fourth largest supplier of imports to Australia after the United States, Japan and the United Kingdom, Germany is one of Australia's major trade partners. Bilateral trade in 1990-1991 was worth approximately $4.2 billion. However, the trade imbalance is

considerable as imports from Germany more than double exports (see Table 3, Chapter 3). It is widely believed that the political and economic role of the German language in Europe is certain to continue and will be greatly enhanced by the recent political developments in Germany.

German tourists are also important to the Australian economy. According to a newspaper report quoted by Fernandez et al. (1993), the number of German tourists increased by 25 per cent from November 1990 to November in 1991.

5. 4. 5. Trade Patterns with Greece and Cyprus

Greek is spoken by around 11.5 to 14 million people around the world (Grimes 1988:374; Mackridge 1985). It is the official language of the Republic of Greece and a major language in the Republic of Cyprus. It is also one of the nine official languages of the European community.

Australian imports from Greece were estimated at $40.12 million in 1991-1992, an increase from the 1990-1991 figure ($35.24 million). At the same time, Australian exports to Greece increased to $30.42 million in 1991-1992 from $25.25 million in 1990-1991. The levels of trade with the Republic of Cyprus are much less important in volume, but are in Australia's favour. In 1990, Australian imports from Cyprus represented $970 000; in the same year, Australia's exports to Cyprus represented a total of $5 570 000.

It is also estimated that 11 000 Greek tourists and 7000 Greek sailors visited Australia in 1991.

5. 4. 6. Trade Patterns with Indonesia

More than 90 million people, or 61 per cent of the population of Indonesia, speak Indonesian. This number increases every year through universal education in Indonesian. In addition, Bahasa Malaysia, a language very similar to Indonesian is the language of nearly 18 million Malaysians. The sheer size of one of Australia's closest neighbours and the opportunities for investment in its burgeoning economy make Indonesia an important trade partner. Although Malaysia has a smaller population, it is more economically advanced and provides better short term tourist and trade opportunities for Australia.

The Indonesian economy has been growing strongly since the 1970s. Between 1968 and 1983, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country grew at an average rate of 7.3 per cent a year. In recent years, it has been maintained at a level above 6 per cent (*Indonesia Source Book* 1990/91:26-27). Since 1970, 40-50 per cent of Australian exports to Indonesia have been primary products such as wheat, cotton

and dairy products as well as a number of fuel and metal exports - coal, lead, zinc, bauxite - and manufactured goods. Between 1970 and 1986, aggregate Australian trade with Indonesia increased from $73 to $455 million. Indonesia's exports to Australia rose from 0.3 per cent of its total exports in 1970 to 2.0 per cent in 1986-1988, while its imports from Australia remained relatively stable (between 3 and 4 per cent) between 1975 and 1988. Optimistic predictions estimate that trade between Australia and Indonesia is likely to reach $7 billion by the year 2000 (*The Australian Financial Review*, 27 October 1992:2). In the latter half of the 1980s, increasing numbers of Indonesian full-fee paying students (third in number behind Malaysian and Chinese students) were studying at Australian universities, injecting millions of dollars into the Australian economy.

5. 4. 7. Trade Patterns with Italy

Italian is the official language of only one country in the world, Italy, with a population of 57 676 000 people. However, the presence of Italian has been felt the world over, first as the language of the Catholic Church and the Vatican, and most importantly through Italian communities living in various countries. These communities total more than five million people outside Italy spread over Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australia and Europe.

Italy is one of the world leaders in robotics, office automation, design, fashion and shoes. It is estimated that 42 Italian companies trade with the State of New South Wales alone. In 1990, the total volume of Italy's foreign trade was equivalent to about US$420 billion. In the same year, Italy bought between 2.1 and 2.7 per cent of the total Australian exports and provided Australia with 2.9 to 3.3 per cent of Australia's imports. This means that Italy is among Australia's top ten commercial trade partners.

Italian tourism is also very important to Australia. The number of Italian tourists has increased steadily over the years and it is estimated that nearly 25 000 Italian tourists visit Australia every year.

5. 4. 8. Trade Patterns with Japan

With the second highest GNP in the world, Japan today has a powerful economy. In the early 1980s, Japan alone took 30 per cent of Australian exports. In 1988-89, it ranked second, after the United States, for imports into Australia (20.75 per cent of total imports) and represented Australia's largest export market (27.27 per cent of total exports). With an export market worth $14 578.9 million in 1991-92, Japan has become Australia's most important trade partner. Japanese tourism in Australia has also grown significantly in the 1980s and 1990s. By mid-1991, the Japanese had become the largest group of international tourists to visit Australia. While

only 49 000 Japanese tourists (5 per cent of all in-bound tourists) travelled to Australia in 1980, this figure had nearly doubled by 1985 (108 000 or 22 per cent of all in-bound tourists) and was well over 629 000 in 1992. The Australian Tourism Commission estimates that the proportion of Japanese tourists coming to Australia will rise further in the next few years (to 1.6 million tourists by the year 2000) and the Japanese will be the largest group of overseas tourists to visit this country in the next decade or two.

5. 4. 9. Trade Patterns with the Spanish-Speaking World

Spanish is the first language of over 300 million people. It is one of the most widely spoken and fastest growing languages in the world.

As a language of world trade, Spanish provides access to 21 countries where it is the official language: one European country (ie, Spain), one African country (Equatorial Guinea), and 19 Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay and Venezuela). Spanish also provides access to the Hispanic business communities in the United States (Ruiz 1990).

Latin America not only produces 40 per cent of the world's silver and 25 per cent of the world's copper, but most importantly, it is estimated that 76.1 per cent of the Spanish-speaking population around the world is under the age of 40. This means that a large number of consumers will come from Spanish-speaking countries and will communicate in the Spanish language. Moreover, the economic integration of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay through the establishment of a common market called Mercosur and the formation of an agricultural co-operation alliance between Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay called Conasur also represent major economic developments in Latin America. Hence, the Latin American market has a tremendous potential for trade and transport links that Australia can benefit from.

Australia's trade with Latin America is gaining in importance. Exports to Latin America have increased from almost $359 million in 1988-89 to $457 million in 1990-91. Australia's major Latin American trade partners are Puerto Rico, Argentina, Mexico and Chile. For example, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Argentina ranks 41st overall as an Australian trade partner and is Australia's second largest trade partner in Latin America with a total volume of trade valued at $183 million in 1991, providing a trade surplus of over $50 million in Australia's favour. Trade with Spain, Australia's 29th trade partner, was also worth a trade balance of nearly $48 million in Australia's favour in 1990-1991.

5. 5. Summary

Recent policy rhetoric has suggested that language is important for economic reasons. This brief summary of Australia's trade patterns with countries in which the nine languages of wider teaching in the Australian education system are spoken suggests that the opportunity for Australia to share in the economic growth of these trade partners are considerable. Familiarity with the languages and cultures of these partners will thus be an added advantage in accessing their markets.

A closer look at the trade patterns discussed above suggests that Japan and other Asian nations have become increasingly important to Australia's economy. This trend is likely to increase.

Another area of growth is the tourism industry. Nearly 2.4 million international visitors came to Australia in 1991. It is estimated that, by the year 2000, in-bound tourism will increase to about 4.85 million visitors a year (BTR, *Australian Tourism Forecasts* 1990). Of these, visitors from Asia are likely to comprise half of all Australian in-bound tourists (DEET 1991a:25). As pointed out above, a recent study, *Tourism 2000: Key Directions for Human Resource Development*, which looked into the language and cultural skills needed by personnel employed in tourism during the rest of the decade indicates that Asian markets, especially Japan, will require an important and rapid increase in the number of management and staff with 'high level language skills' and the number of customer contact staff with 'working language skills' (*Tourism Training Australia* 1992:10-11). The same study emphasised that Asia is likely to be three times as significant as Europe as a source of tourists (49 per cent of the market share as compared with 16 per cent from Europe).

It is in this context that students are being encouraged and are beginning to graduate from universities equipped with language and other skills that will make it possible for them to take up positions in companies doing business with countries which have important trade links with Australia. Their chances of success will greatly depend on how well LOTE provision and delivery are planned and implemented. This can best be achieved by gathering empirical evidence on the state of LOTE teaching/learning in Australia and taking it into account in language-in-education planning. It is in this context that the Commonwealth Government has recently taken a major step in commissioning a nationwide survey of the profiles of the nine languages of wider teaching in Australian education. It is this nationwide research project that is the focus of the next chapter.

6

Language Profiles

Any organisation which has to deal with a myriad of languages must act and be seen to be acting fairly to all ethnic groups, and that means being able to set out in clear terms what the basis for the decision-making is.
- Horvath and Vaughan (1991:16)

6. 1. Introduction

This chapter presents a consolidated summary of the data gathered Australia wide and of the issues raised in the NLLIA's profiles of nine key languages project[14]. Materials from these volumes is summarised and discussed across languages (ie, Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese, Modern Greek and Spanish). The chapter begins with the background to this research project and provides quantitative (who studies which language, why, where and how?) and qualitative data (eg, the transition problem, in-country study, pre-service and in-service teacher training, materials and resources) on these languages. It contextualises and supplements materials of the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages*, compares and contrasts the data provided and brings together the set of issues and findings that cut across LOTE teaching and learning in Australia. Readers interested in details for a particular language will find such information in the individual volumes.

6. 2. Background of the Nationwide Research Project

In early 1990, AACLAME decided to review the teaching and place of the nine languages which were designated Languages of Wider Teaching in the NPL (Lo Bianco 1987). These languages (Arabic, Modern Standard Chinese, French, German, Modern Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese and Spanish) represent the vast bulk of the second language learning effort in Australian education. As such, they consume the greatest proportion of the resources devoted to the teaching of second languages in Australia and will continue to do so for several years to come. They also combine internal (ie, intercultural, community bilingualism) and external (ie, economic) reasons and have been incorporated into the 14 priority languages of the ALLP in 1991. From an international perspective, most of the nine languages of wider teaching are among the top 15 languages in the world in terms of mother tongue speakers (except for Modern Greek) and the top 15 official languages by population (except again for Modern

14 In the NPL these nine languages were categorised as Languages of Wider Teaching. The terms Languages of Wider Teaching and Key Languages have since come to be used interchangeably. The Profiles discussed in this chapter use the term Key Languages.

Greek) as indicated in Table 7. They are also among the top nine languages which rate very highly in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (except for Indonesian/ Malay and Modern Greek), as indicated in Table 8.

Table 7: *The World's Top Fifteen Languages (in millions)*

Mother tongue speakers		Official Language Population	
1. Chinese	1000	1. English	1400
2. English	350	2. Chinese	1000
3. Spanish	250	3. Hindi	700
4. Hindi	200	4. Spanish	280
5. Arabic	150	5. Russian	270
6. Bengali	150	6. French	220
7. Russian	150	7. Arabic	170
8. Portuguese	135	8. Portuguese	160
9. Japanese	135	9. Malay	160
10. German	100	10. Bengali	150
11. French	70	11. Japanese	120
12. Punjabi	70	12. German	100
13. Javanese	65	13. Urdu	85
14. Bihari	65	14. Italian	60
15. Italian	60	15. Korean	60

Source: adapted from Stanley et al. (1990:47)

Table 8: *The World's Top Nine Languages in Terms of GDP (in billions of $)*

Country	GDP
1. English	4271
2. Japanese	1277
3. German	1090
4. Russian	801
5. Spanish	738
6. French	669
7.Chinese	448
8. Arabic	359
9. Italian	302

Source: Adapted from Ammon (1991:49)

6. 2. 1. Aim of the Project

Funding was provided to the NLLIA under the ASLLP to conduct a coordinated a national project to construct the profiles for these nine languages. Nine teams of language specialists[15] around Australia were brought together to conduct research on and compile information about each language following specific guidelines issued by the NLLIA in September 1991. According to these guidelines, the central focus of the research project was to investigate:

1. The position of each of the nine languages at all levels of the education system, especially since the NPL (eg, increased or decreased study, quality of provision)
2. Factors promoting or inhibiting expanded language teaching since the NPL (ie, reasons for low or high level of demand)
3. The domestic situation of the language, both in terms of local need for language education and the local available resources to be developed
4. The importance of the language for Australia in the world context (ie, the external/ economic need).

The sociolinguistic profiles of the nine languages were to address the following key areas:

1. **The Nine Key Languages in Australian Education:** This section provides quantitative data about the provision and delivery of each language at all levels, with an emphasis on establishing trends since the NPL. It also provides qualitative data about crucial issues such as teacher training and supply, materials and resources, transition between primary and post-primary, students' attitudes and motivations to language learning (ie, incentives and disincentives)

---

15 The authors and contributors of the reports on the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* were:

1. The Arabic report: Associate Professor Stuart Campbell, Principal Author. Contributing Authors: Bronwen Dyson, Sadika Karim and Basima Rabie.
2. The Chinese report: Doug Smith, Dr Ng Bee Chin, Dr Kam Louie and Professor Colin Mackerras, Principal Authors.
3. The French report: Professor Peter Cryle and Anne Freadman, Principal Authors. Contributing Author: Barbara Hanna.
4. The German report: Dr Anne Pauwels, Sue Fernandez and Professor Michael Clyne, Principal Authors.
5. The Indonesian/Malay report: Professor Peter Worsley, Principal Author.
6. The Italian report: Bruno Di Biase, Principal Author. Contributing Authors: Giovanni Andreoni, Helen Andreoni and Bronwen Dyson.
7. The Japanese report: Associate Professor Helen Marriott, Professor J. V. Neustupny and Robyn Spence-Brown, Principal Authors.
8. The Modern Greek report: Dr Tassos Tamis, Principal Author. Contributing Author: Stathis Gauntlett. Research Assistant: Stravos Petrou.
9. The Spanish report: Dr Estela Valverde, Principal Author. Contributing Authors: Sandra Hale and Elizabeth Ramirez.

I would like to thank all these people for their work. Without it, I would not have been able to write this consolidated summary.

2. **The Nine Key Languages in Australian Society:** This section includes a summary of the data on the history, the size, the geographical location and the composition of each language community, with emphasis on its current and perceived ethnolinguistic vitality (ie, language use, language maintenance and shift)
3. **The Nine Key Languages in the World Context:** This last section first examines the role and status of each language, both in terms of its estimated size as a first and second language in the world community and its role in the cultural, scientific and technological fields. It then provides some data on the current and future trade potential of each language and its importance to Australia.

The collection of the statistical information for these sociolinguistic profiles concerning number of students enrolled in the nine key languages in Australian educational institutions (all levels, all systems) was handled centrally by the coordinator for the entire project based at the NLLIA Directorate in Melbourne.

6. 3. Sociolinguistic Profiles: A Definition

There are a number of uses and definitions of the concept of 'profile' in the Australian context as is shown in the following discussion. This summary of linguistic competence profiles and sociocultural and historical profiles will help define what sociolinguistic profiles are.

6. 3. 1. Linguistic Competence Profiles

As discussed in the summary of Chapter 2 (see Section 2.2), CURASS of the AEC has developed an interim draft entitled *National Statement on Languages Other than English (LOTE) Profile* for Australian schools in 1992. The profile which was defined as 'the level of achievement which can reasonably be expected from a typical well-taught student at each band' (also see MLTA of NSW Inc. *Bulletin*, December 1992:13-15), was meant to describe the achievements of learners in LOTE at eight different levels across Years 1 to 12 and to provide a framework to which teachers, schools and systems will be able to refer when gathering detailed information about student achievement in LOTE. A number of learning outcomes were incorporated into three strands believed to reflect the central goal of language learning: ie, the development of communicative competence. These are:

1. Communicating in LOTE
2. Sociocultural Understandings, and
3. Understanding and Applying Language as a System.

Clearly, this kind of profile is a linguistic competence profile[16]. It is a profile concerned with setting expected levels of achievements and outlining an agreed direction of LOTE curriculum in order to lead to uniform targets in LOTE teaching and to facilitate proficiency ratings. The objectives of such a profile are therefore different from those of the second type of profiles, the sociocultural and historical profile described below.

6. 3. 2. Sociocultural and Historical Profiles

Sociocultural and historical profiles are the kind of profiles provided by Horvath and Vaughan in a book entitled *Community Languages: A Handbook* (1991). In the introduction to their book, they define language profiles and their purpose as follows:

> Sociolinguistic profiles ... are meant to give sufficient information about a language so that policy-makers and implementers can go about their business with an intelligent understanding of any issues relevant to that language that ought to be taken into account before decisions are made ... there is a certain set of characteristics of a language that are likely to be important to know, in order to make intelligent judgements concerning them. These characteristics are: standardisation, functional distribution, historical development, the relationship to other languages and variants, and the social evaluation of the language by the speech community and others (Horvath and Vaughan 1991:5)

---

16. The purposes of the LOTE profile are to:

- develop a shared language among Australian teachers for reporting on student achievements in LOTE as an area of learning; and
- draw on the work, experiences and expertise of all Australian States and Territories in this area of learning.

By using the LOTE Profile, teachers will be assisted to:

- make judgements about students' achievement in LOTE which are consistent with those of other teachers around Australia;
- record a comprehensive view of students' achievements within a commonly understood framework; and
- more clearly articulate and hence communicate what students are and are not able to do at any particular time, and how this changes over time. (cf. National LOTE Profile Consultation Draft 1993:3)

According to the *Bulletin* of the MLTA of New South Wales Inc (December 1992:13-15), the main objectives of the *National Statement on LOTE* are:

- to provide a common framework and curriculum resource for systems, curriculum writers, teacher educators, teachers and others involved in curriculum development for LOTE;
- to provide a basis for the development of curriculum support materials through Curriculum Corporation and other relevant organisations;
- to outline the goals, directions and outcomes for LOTE across the years of schooling, and to provide a basis for consultation with community groups on the provision of LOTE programs in the school curriculum;
- to provide the framework for the development of the *National Profile for LOTE*;
- to address relevant issues raised in the *National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools*;
- to address relevant goals raised in the *Draft National Guidelines for Aboriginal Studies and Torres Strait Islander Studies K-12*; and
- to address relevant issues raised in the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Horvath and Vaughan note that these profiles are 'critical to understand[ing] how the speakers of a language regard their language and its relationship to other languages' and to have sufficient understanding 'of the history of the speech community and the way in which language has been used ...' (Horvath and Vaughan 1991:4-5).

However, the language profiles provided by these authors are limited to aspects of standardisation, functions, historical development, relationship to other languages or varieties and social evaluation. These language profiles also describe the various types of sociolinguistic situations (ie, sociolects, standard and dialects, diglossia and bilingualism). Nevertheless, the profile of each language in this book reads more like a historical overview of its development in the country where the language is spoken as a mother tongue. The book provides little or no information on the profiles of these languages in the Australian context. Gathering the kind of information provided by Horvath and Vaughan is useful; but this information is not quite as exhaustive as the kind of information covered by sociolinguistic profiles. Sociocultural and historical profiles do not address the issues of the provision and delivery of languages in education. Hence, they throw little light on the kind of things we need to know in order to formulate language-in-education policies and put in place implementation programs appropriate for acquisition planning.

6. 3. 3. Comprehensive Sociolinguistic Profiles

Sociolinguistic profiles of the kind provided by the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* cover much of the material provided by Horvath and Vaughan with the addition of information on the people as well as the localities and the schools where a given language is taught. Other relevant characteristics include the functional distribution and spread of the language or language variety, its relationship to other languages, and its educational and institutional characteristics. These variables may vary across languages and States and must be assessed for each language on a nationwide scale. Similarities and differences in the sociolinguistic profiles are highlighted, so that the goals of language policy and language-in-education planning may be finely tuned accordingly for each language in every State.

It is this kind of coherent and statistically sophisticated quantitative and qualitative information that was collected by the Nine Key Languages project and is used in this chapter for a consolidated analysis. The aim is to provide a principled set of suggestions for matching implementation strategies. This data can help find answers to the structures, materials, intensity, duration, streaming, syllabuses,

method of instruction and assessments that are needed for language programs. Sociolinguistic profiling is therefore a data collection technique useful to arrive at an explicit decision-making process.

6. 3. 4. Sociolinguistic Profiles: Relevance and Significance

Language policy and language planning decisions should never be simply a matter of functional imperatives. Rather, they need to be based on a better understanding of the issues and factors that affect the status of and the demand for a given language. Clearly, none of the nine key languages has as high or broad a sociolinguistic profile as English. Therefore, the general characteristics of these languages need to be explicitly set out and those characteristics specific to each of these languages need to be defined in order to design a program appropriate to their learning and teaching. The objective of sociolinguistic profiling is to reconcile theory and practice with a view to bridging the gap between the policies at the macro level and the realities at the micro level. Providing crucial empirical data on the nine key languages and, eventually, all the languages of economic significance to Australia, will go a long way in helping improve the decision-makers' efficiency in setting medium and long term priorities based on all the relevant factors for a particular language. Unless language teachers and language policy-makers understand the possible ways in which languages can vary sociolinguistically in their actual or potential functions, program designs for language instruction or the deliberate effort to influence the language behaviour of the general population may not be as successful as anticipated.

Furthermore, language-in-education policy ought to be driven by the needs of the broader speech community. A policy on languages has to meet a genuine need in order to be successful. This goal can best be achieved if the realities in the community as reflected by the empirical sociolinguistic data are integrated in the decision-making process and, most importantly, in the implementation and evaluation of the policy at the State and Commonwealth levels.

If indeed the conceptual basis of language policy in Australia is socio-political language planning (AACLAME 1990:51), then sociolinguistic issues such as language attitudes, language maintenance and shift, and their effect on language-in-education planning must be investigated and integrated into language policy and planning as a matter of urgency. An effective plan is one that can predict and influence the shape of socio-economic and political events which derive from language questions, not one that just reacts to them; and the degree to which a policy can be transformed into a detailed plan is strongly influenced by the availability and the quality of the relevant empirical data.

Finally, eliciting language attitudes and monitoring the language choices and uses of the population is an integral part of putting together a practical approach to a cost-effective and long term language policy. Policy-makers need to be able to justify and defend their policy by explicitly stating the basis for the choices made. Limited resources make such an approach necessary, for only such a process can lead to the setting of realistic and attainable goals.

Thus the summary of the nine sociolinguistic language profiles to be discussed in this chapter will be invaluable to all people involved in language-related issues: ie, language policy-makers, language planners, language teachers at all levels, linguists, the media, the business community. They may be used for planning school and higher education programs, curriculum writing, research, estimating the needs in the area of language services (ie, interpreting and translating) as well as the needs of business people who are targeting local or overseas markets.

6. 3. 5. Language Attitudes: A Definition

One important aspect of sociolinguistic profiles concerns language attitudes. Although it is difficult to construct valid and objective measures of attitudes, the study of language attitudes is a critical factor in learner language choice and use. The work of Lambert and Gardner (1972) showed that it is important to understand why people learn the language(s) that they learn, their attitudes towards the group who speaks that language as a mother tongue and towards the language itself, as well as what they expect to gain from having learned it. Lambert and Gardner introduced the seminal concept of 'motivation' which Gardner later defined as

> ... the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes towards learning the language. That is, motivation to learn a language is seen as referring to the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity ... when the desire to achieve the goal and favourable attitudes towards the goal are linked with the effort or the drive, then we have a motivated organism (Gardner 1985:10-11).

Lambert and Gardner also identified two forms of motivation in language learning: instrumental and integrative motivation. **Instrumental motivation** is defined in terms of external need. Instrumental motivation puts the emphasis on the 'utilitarian' value of language study (eg, enhanced employment prospects). On the other hand, **integrative motivation** stems from students' desire to feel part of the speech community that uses the language they are learning. Recent research

has shown that both integrative and instrumental motivations are not mutually exclusive, but form points on a continuum (Laine 1987). Both types of motivation may influence language learners depending on age, experience and changing occupational or social needs. Attitudes are directly related to motivation, which in turn is directly related to second language learning.

Current sociolinguistic theory holds that language policies are to be seen in the context of the dynamics of social and psychological trends. Policy-makers and education authorities need to understand the language behaviour of potential language learners in order to clearly define priorities for language-in-education policies and maximise their benefits. The presuppositions, prejudices, expectations, motivations and attitudes of language learners or a speech community partly hold a key to the language choices that they make. Thus the fostering of a new language policy entails finding out whether the people the plan involves are prepared to accept it. Language barriers can be overcome and favourable attitudes generated towards a particular language with the appropriate changes in the educational, social, and political contexts of language use. This process will not only limit the wastage of already scarce resources, it will also help identify alternatives that are feasible and set realistic and attainable goals.

While some end user studies have focused on the attitudes of the business community to LOTEs (cf. Valverde 1990, Midgley 1991, Stanley et al. 1990), it was decided, within the context of the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages*, to focus on the more immediate users of language through the study of students' attitudes and motivations to second language learning (ie, incentives and disincentives). While the opinions, motivations and attitudes of business people towards LOTE may influence the motivation of language learners, they are not the sole or even the most important motivation for language learning.

To better understand student motivation for language learning, the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* project carried out a survey of the language attitudes of Year 11 students who had studied a language in Year 10. This investigation which focused on the reasons for continuing or discontinuing the study of a LOTE was conducted by means of two sets of closed questions (involving some scaling) which allowed the students to select one or more alternatives from those listed. Although this procedure restricted students' choice, the alternatives they were offered reflected a wide range of factors which are known to influence students' choice of language and their decision to (dis)continue a LOTE. An open-ended alternative was also included to provide their own reasons for (dis)continuing a LOTE.

6. 4. The Nine Key Languages in Australian Society

Before turning our attention to the quantitative and qualitative issues raised by the sociolinguistic *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* (see Sections 6.5.0 to 6.7.0), lets us first look at these languages and their importance within Australian society.

This section provides an overview of the size, location and composition, as well as the domains and patterns of use of the nine key languages. It is divided into two sub-sections. The first of these discusses the languages that have a long history of migration to Australia, namely Chinese, French, German, Modern Greek and Italian. The second one presents the situation of those languages that have a more recent history of migration to Australia. These are: Arabic, Indonesian/Malay, Japanese and Spanish.

6. 4. 1. Languages with a long history of migration

6. 4. 1. 1. Chinese in Australia[17]

The first official settlement of Chinese migrants in Australia was recorded in 1827, when a small group of indentured labourers arrived in Australia (Wang 1988:299). Nevertheless, by 1848, there were only 18 Chinese migrants who had settled in Australia. By 1851, this number had increased to 1742. The discovery of gold in Victoria and New South Wales, as well as the political and economic events which were taking place in China at the time, increased this number even further. By 1861, 3.3 per cent of the total population of Australia (ie, 38 348 individuals) were Chinese migrants. Out of these, 24 544 were working and living on or around the goldfields.

The economic depression of the 1890s gave rise to anti-Chinese agitation and led to the introduction, by State Governments, of a number of discriminatory Acts against Chinese immigration (eg, the *Act to Regulate the Chinese Population of Victoria*, 1851-59, the Queensland *Chinese Immigration Regulation Act* of 1877 and the *Factories and Shops Act* of 1896 in both Victoria and New South Wales). These Acts led to a decrease in the proportion of Chinese. It is estimated that the number of Chinese immigrants dropped to 1.1 per cent in 1891 and that, with the enforcement of the *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901, the Chinese-born population declined even further (from 29 900 in 1901 to 6400 in 1947). It was not until 1966, when it was decided to admit non-Europeans as permanent residents in Australia, that the numbers began to increase.

17 The materials found in Section 6.4.1.1 are substantially based on Smith et al. (1993).

The adoption in 1973 of a non-discriminatory immigration policy saw new arrivals from other Chinese-speaking countries in Asia (ie, Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia) come to Australia. In the 1980s, large numbers of Chinese from mainland China came to Australia, mostly as students. Following the tragic events of Tiananmen Square in 1989, an estimated 30 000 Chinese students were granted an extended stay. Given overall immigration figures, there has also been a relatively large influx of Chinese migrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong. From 1986 to 1991, the number of Hong Kong migrants has risen from 28 287 to 66 164. In the 1991 October quarter, they made up 11.4 per cent of the total migrant intake and in 1992, they exceeded the number of immigrants from the United Kingdom. It is now estimated that there are more than 230 000 Chinese language speakers in Australia. This number is expected to increase even further in the near future, as immigration from Hong Kong is expected to remain high until 1997 when this territory is returned to the People's Republic of China in accordance with the *Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong*. Over 80 per cent of Chinese immigrants live in the three eastern States of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland.

It is estimated that at least 217 000 Chinese individuals use a Chinese language at home (including Cantonese and Mandarin). The Chinese language is also very well represented in the print media. In 1991, Chinese language newspapers had a combined circulation of 58 500. Some of the newspapers circulated nationally are: the *Australia-China Review*, the *Australian Chinese Daily*, the *Chinese Herald* and *Qiao Sheng News*. Several radio stations (2EA, 3EA and 4EB) provide Chinese language programs. In 1990-91, SBS TV broadcasting services provided 29.83 hours of programming in Modern Standard Chinese and 29.24 hours of programming in Cantonese. As well, there is a very active network of 33 major Chinese clubs and associations throughout Australia.

It is important to understand that the term 'Chinese language' refers to more than 20 distinct varieties and regional dialects of spoken Chinese. However, Modern Standard Chinese is the variety used as a norm by educated Chinese in Asia and throughout the world and is the official language of the People's Republic of China, the Republic of China (Taiwan) and one of the official languages of the Republic of Singapore. In 1997, Modern Standard Chinese will also become one of the national languages of Hong Kong. Chinese is also one of the United Nations' official languages.

6. 4. 1. 2. French in Australia[18]

Although it is a well known fact that French has a long history in Australia, the history of French migration to Australia was not specifically covered in the French report. Rather, the focus was on its place as one of the major languages in Australian education, on its role as a cultural language of the arts, as a trade language and a language of international diplomacy.

The Census figures of 1976 and 1986 show that a significant proportion of Australians declare themselves to be regular users of French at home. In the 1986 census for example, 52 790 people claimed they spoke French in their homes. However, the proportion of people who speak French at home fell to 45 682 in the 1991 Census. From the estimated 64 851 speakers of French in 1976 (Clyne 1982:12), this represents a decrease of 19 451 in the Australian French-speaking population. French also emerges as a significant community language in Sydney. It is present in the Ethnic Broadcasting Association and has air time on 17 Australian community radio programs. The French language was fairly well represented on SBS TV with 147 hours or 3.86 per cent of the total air time in 1991. *Le Courrier australien*, which recently celebrated its centenary, is the oldest non-English newspaper in Australia. Its circulation is currently 7000 copies.

6. 4. 1. 3. German in Australia[19]

The German language has a long history as a community language in Australia. Its role can be traced back to the earliest days of European colonisation. Some German speakers were amongst the Europeans who arrived in this country on the First Fleet. Significant German immigration began in the 1830s and increased throughout the following decades. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, German-born immigrants and their Australian-born descendants constituted the most numerous non Anglo-Celtic group in Australia. In 1891, there were 45 000 German immigrants in Australia. By this time, many speakers of this language were born in Australia. Queensland had the largest German-born population until the 1930s.

For many years, German was the language of bilingual schooling, the church, work and community domains. However, as German was perceived as the language of the enemy during World War I, instruction through the German medium as well as publications in the language were banned. It was not until the late 1930s that significant immigration of German speakers resumed. Between 1933 and 1939, and especially during the period 1938-39, 9500 German-speaking immigrants came to Australia. The same movement was repeated after the Second World War when, under the post-war immigration program, a large influx of

18 The materials found in Section 6.4.1.2 are substantially based on Cryle et al. (1993)

19 The materials found in Section 6.4.1.3 are substantially based on Fernandez et al. (1993)

Germans arrived in Australia. In the 1980s, migration from Germany has been made up mainly of professional people.

German is a pluricentric language in Australia as the German-speaking community consists not only of those who speak the language as their first language (ie, from countries such as Germany, Austria and Switzerland), but as it is also made up of a substantial number of people who have German as their second language. These are 'ethnic' Germans from Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Middle East (eg, the Templers). Some Italian, Greek, Yugoslav and Turkish migrants, having previously been guest workers in Germany or Switzerland, also use German as a lingua franca.

According to the 1986 Census, there were 111 276 people who spoke German at home and the German community ranked sixth after the Italian, Greek, Serbo-Croatian, Chinese and Arabic speech communities. In 1986, the largest number of German speakers were to be found in New South Wales (35 324), Victoria (32 665), South Australia (14 910) and Queensland (14 526). Some of these, most notably South Australia, Queensland and Victoria have had strong historical ties with the German language. The proportion of people who speak German at home has slightly increased in 1991 to 113 300 (ABS 1991 Census).

Research into the use of the language suggests that German is not very well maintained in Australia. The majority of users of the language are older people who were born overseas (ie, first generation Germans). The language shift rate and the rate of exogamous marriages are very high (40 per cent and 85.4 per cent respectively, in 1986) (Clyne 1991a:64). As a result, the German-speaking community has decreased from a total of 170 644 in 1976 to 111 276 in 1986.

Nevertheless, the German community is one of the most active in Australia. As a long standing community and school language, it has a well established support network (eg, pedagogic advisers, the Gœthe Institute, German teacher associations - the Association of German Teachers of Victoria (AGTV) and the South Australian German Teachers Association (SAGTA) - and the German government through scholarships and study schemes). This network plays a significant role in the ethnolinguistic vitality of the language. The German community also has a number of social clubs, cultural societies, and welfare and religious organisations. Religious affiliation in the German community is as diverse as the German speech community itself and includes the Catholic, Lutheran and Jewish faiths. In addition to the libraries of the Gœthe Institute, the German community has access to a range of municipal libraries in some capital cities (eg, Melbourne, Adelaide and Sydney) which hold books for adults and children in the German language.

German is also used in the media. Out of 27 radio stations transmitting in LOTEs across Australia, 16 broadcast in German. In 1986, approximately 6.3 per cent of the total program of SBS TV was in German. In the print media, there are three locally produced and privately funded newspapers for the German language: *Die Woche in Australien, Australische Post* and *The German Times*. The community has access to German newspapers such as *Die Frankfurter Allgemeine, Süddeutsche Zeitung* or *Die Zeit* and *Die Welt*.

6. 4. 1. 4. Greek in Australia[20]

Greek immigration and settlement in Australia began in 1896, when approximately 800 Greek Orthodox immigrants came to Australia and settled throughout the country. Over the following decades, Greek immigration to Australia was strongly influenced by economic conditions and other major events. In the early 1900s, the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and the Asia Minor Disaster (1922) caused an influx of Greek-speaking migrants into Australia. A similar situation was repeated in 1974, following the political events in Cyprus. Since then, there has been a steady decline in the number of Greek immigrants. From 1975 to 1992, Greek immigration was restricted to qualified professionals. According to Tamis and Gauntiett (1993), more Greeks moved back to Greece from Australia than came to this country in 1992, causing a net attrition rate of 400 a year in the Greek community. It is argued that this is because, for a long time and up until very recently, many Greeks did not consider their stay in Australia as permanent. As a result, many moved back to their country of origin. It was not until the 1980s that Greek migrants began to accept their residence in Australia as a permanent one.

Greek-speaking residents in Australia are currently estimated at 286 000. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1991), 151 580 of these residents were born overseas. Like the German community discussed in the preceding section, the Greek population is a diverse one. Besides Greece, many Greek-speaking migrants were born or trace their roots to Cyprus, Egypt, the Middle East, Asia Minor, the former Soviet Union and other European countries. Modern Greek is the standard form of the language used as a reference norm within the community. But unlike German, Greek has the highest percentage of speakers who do not use English regularly (Clyne 1982, 1991a; Tamis 1986). According to the 1986 Census, 277 472 people claimed that they used Greek in the home. Research conducted by Tamis (1991:250) shows that this number increased to 316 992 in 1991. The importance of the language within the community is also reflected in the number of interpreters and translators of Modern Greek. There are 355 interpreters of Modern Greek in Australia (two at NAATI accreditation level 4, 65 at level 3, 217 at level 2 and 61 at the level 1). The Greek-Australian community lends its support to the teaching of

20 The materials found in Section 6.4.1.4 are substantially based on Tamis and Gauntiett (1993)

Modern Greek, especially at tertiary level, by funding a number of lectureships in Victoria, New South Wales and Western Australia. It has also endowed one of the two existing Chairs of Modern Greek Studies in Australia.

The first Greek community organisation, the Hellenic Community of Western Australia, was created in 1923. By 1924, there were four organised Greek Orthodox communities in Australia. In 1992, the number of community organisations had increased to 180 parochial Greek Orthodox Communities and Parishes and over 600 Greek Brotherhoods and Associations in Australia. There are 17 registered dancing schools in Victoria alone, as well as 12 active theatrical groups performing in Modern Greek throughout Australia. All these associations are dedicated to promoting Greek folklore, culture and language.

The Greek language is used in the electronic and print media. In 1992, there were 23 radio stations transmitting Greek programs for a total of 120 hours per week. In addition to these, there are commercial radio stations in Melbourne and Sydney, broadcasting 24 hours a day in Greek. These stations are reported to have attracted 8000 subscribers after one year of operation. According to Tamis (1986), 75 per cent of the Greek community claimed to be 'regular' viewers of SBS TV programs in Greek in 1986. There are eight newspapers published in Modern Greek around Australia, with a combined circulation of 40 000 copies per edition.

Several factors leading to some degree of language shift in the Greek community have been identified. Prominent amongst these is exogamy. According to the Australian Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, the rate of exogamy in the Greek community in 1992 was 48 per cent in Queensland, 41 per cent in New South Wales, 37 per cent in Victoria, 39 per cent in South Australia, 47 per cent in Western Australia, 14 per cent in Tasmania and 8 per cent in the Northern Territory. Other factors are the intergenerational language shift and 'de-ethnisation' of the Greek Orthodox Christians (Tamis and Gauntiett 1993:24).

6. 4. 1. 5. Italian in Australia[21]

There were fewer than 6000 Italians counted in the Australian Census of 1901; but, by the mid-1930s, the number of Italians had grown to nearly 30 000. According to the 1986 Census, there were at least 620 000 Australians of Italian ancestry, almost half of whom were born in Italy. Since the early 1900s, Italian has established itself as an important community language in Australia. In 1986, Italian speakers numbered 415 765 or 2.6 per cent of the total population, making this language the most widely spoken language in the home in Australia, after English. The proportion of Italian speakers increased slightly to 418 800 in the 1991 Census.

21 The materials found in Section 6 4 1 5 are substantially based on Di Biase et al. (1994).

Italians form the most numerous non Anglo-Celtic group in Victoria, New South Wales, Western Australia and the ACT. In Queensland and South Australia, they are the second most numerous non Anglo-Celtic ethnic community. Most Italians, nearly 85 per cent, live in urban areas.

As in the case of the German and Greek communities, the Italian community is a diverse one. There are generational and other factors of internal differentiation that explain this diversity within the Italian community. For instance, pre World War II migrants can be distinguished from the migrants of the 1950s and 1960s and the latter from those of the 1970s and 1980s, in terms of their language use and language attitudes. A further distinction can be made along the lines of regional (North versus South) and socio-economic factors.

The ethnolinguistic vitality of the Italian community is reflected through its numerous organisations. Besides the Comitato Assistenza Italiano (COASIT) which has branches in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, other community organisations include: the Dante Alighieri Society in Melbourne, the Centro di Lingua e di Cultura in Perth (CLCI), the Comitato Italiano Assistenza in Canberra (CIAC), the Comitato Italiano di Assistenza Scolastica (CIAS) in Darwin, the Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Emigrate e Famiglie (FILEF) in Melbourne and Sydney, the Italo-Australian Welfare Centre in Western Australia, the Italian Culture and Welfare Association (ICWA) in Hobart, and the Italian School Committee on the Sunshine Coast.

The activities of the Italian community are supported by the Italian government through financial grants. These contributions cover the following:

1. Education Consultants and Italian Language Teaching Advisers
2. A per capita grant for each student and the provision of language teaching material
3. Two Italian Cultural Institutes in Sydney and Melbourne, and support for some Dante Alighieri
4. Contributions towards co-operative in-service courses, scholarships, exchanges and language courses in Italy
5. Two lectureships (additional lectureships are being negotiated)
6. Publication subsidies.

Like all the preceding languages, Italian is used in the media. Italian programs are available on SBS TV and various radio programs, and there are three major newspapers in the Italian language: *La Fiamma*, *Il Globo*, and *Il Mondo*.

6. 4. 2. Languages with a recent migration history

6. 4. 2. 1. *Arabic in Australia*[22]

According to the 1986 Census, there were 119 187 speakers of Arabic in Australia, mostly in New South Wales (88 475) and Victoria (24 515). The Arabic-speaking community is diverse in its make-up. It consists of Armenians brought up in the Arab World (Egypt, Lebanon and Syria) before they migrated to Australia, Greek, Italian or Maltese background migrants brought up in Egypt, some mother tongue speakers of Assyrian, Kurds and some Israelis. In 1992, Arabic was spoken by at least 163 000 people, of Lebanese, Egyptian, Syrian, Palestinian and other backgrounds, making it one of the fastest growing language communities in Australia.

Although this community refers to modern standard or classical Arabic (ie, *?l-fSHA*) as the norm, the colloquial forms of the language are as varied as the backgrounds of the community itself. This raises the important issue of diglossia (Ferguson 1959:325-340 and Fishman 1967:29-38)[23]. Campbell et al. (1993:66-68) define language competence in Arabic as '[being] in control of one's colloquial dialect and the standard language' (p. 71) and claim that diglossia is the norm in the Arab world. It is further claimed that this norm could be a threat to the competence of second and third generations of Arabic speakers in Australian society, since 'no language maintenance here can imitate the sociolinguistic conditions of the homeland and .. the conditions for the development of diglossia cannot be reproduced' (p. 66). The report also predicts that, since Arabic speakers have a negative attitude towards colloquial Arabic, this situation will lead to language shift to the detriment of Arabic (both standard and colloquial).

It is not clear, however, why language competence in Arabic has to be defined in terms of controlling both the colloquial and the standard forms of the language or why the language of videos is described as '**lopsided,** because it does not help maintain Standard Arabic' (p. 76) [emphasis added]. Competence in the standard form of any language comes with education, and it is questionable whether those who have not received any formal education in their mother tongue are incompetent in that language. Literacy in Arabic, which is a learned skill, should not be confused with language competence, which is an acquired skill[24]. Thus, if diglossia is the norm in the Arab world, it is the norm only for those who are literate in Arabic and can choose to use the appropriate variety of the language in

22 The materials found in Section 6 4 2 1 are substantially based on Campbell et al (1993)

23 Campbell et al (1993) use Ferguson's 1959 definition of diglossia and do not refer to Fishman's definition of 1967

24 What does the definition of competence used by Campbell et al have to say about speakers of oral languages in a diglossic or non diglossic situation? As a competent speaker of a number of African languages that have no writing systems, but that do have various registers and specified 'norms' within the speech communities (eg, the register of the initiated versus that of the non initiated), I find this definition of competence unacceptable Also cf, Hymes (1971 269-93) and Keenan (1975 125-43)

various functions and domains. Speakers of Arabic who are illiterate in the modern standard variety of the language, and therefore incompetent in that particular variety, do not have the same possibilities open to them. This does not make them incompetent in the colloquial form of the language as well. Seen from this perspective, language maintenance is not to be confused with the maintenance of diglossia (ie, two varieties of the language or two languages).

As for the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Arabic community in Australia, it appears that, although no formal study of the domains of use of Arabic has so far been undertaken in Australia, the rate of language shift is low in the States where there is a concentration of Arabic speakers (Campbell et al. 1990:71-72). The number of bookshops, libraries and video shops bear testimony to the fact that the language, in its standard and colloquial forms, is alive and well. Arabic material is also broadcast on SBS TV and on a number of radio stations. A new 24 hours a day private radio program commenced broadcasting music and news in Arabic in April 1994. The Arabic press in Sydney comprises a number of newspapers. Some of the most important ones are: *Al masry*, *An-Nahar*, *El Telegraph* and *Sada Loudman*. These four have a combined circulation of 77 500. One newspaper in Victoria (*Saout El-Moughaareb*) has a circulation of 18 000.

There is a strong need for Arabic language services as shown by the combined number of accredited translators and interpreters. In 1992, there were 30 at NAATI Level 1, 199 at level 2 and 97 at level 3. The Telephone Interpreter Service of DIEA in Sydney handled 3500 on-site calls for Arabic in the first seven months of 1991-92 and Arabic ranked fifth as the language most in demand for telephone interpreting in that period with 3543 calls or 6.41 per cent of the total. Arabic is also one of the top five languages for the translation services of DIEA. In January 1992, it ranked fifth with 5.5 per cent of the work received. The Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales reports the same large demand for Arabic interpreting and translation services.

6.4.2.2. Indonesian/Malay in Australia[25]

Due to the White Australia Policy, it was not until the mid-1960s that Indonesians and Malaysians started to migrate to Australia for permanent residence. After the war, the Colombo Plan saw a number of Indonesian students sent to Australian universities. Since then, around 380 Indonesians have settled in Australia every year between 1976 and 1986.

The Indonesian community in Australia is concentrated around Sydney and Melbourne and, to a lesser extent, Perth. Of the 29 800 Indonesian immigrants in Australia, 47 per cent live in Sydney. Like many other communities (cf. Arabic,

25 The materials found in Section 6.4.2.2 are substantially based on Worsley (1993).

Chinese, German, Greek and Arabic), the ethnic make-up of the Indonesian/Malay community is complex and scholars do not agree on the proportion of its various component groups (Indonesians of Dutch or Indonesian extraction, Chinese, Malay, Iberian, Indian, Vietnamese, etc) (see Worsley 1993:4 for further detail).

Standard Indonesian, Bahasa Indonesia, and Standard Malaysian, Bahasa Malaysia, are very similar and mutually intelligible forms of the Malay language. Malay is also the national language of both Brunei and Singapore (Bahasa Kebangsaan). Since 1972, the two languages (Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia) share the same spelling system.

Even though the community claims to be diglossic (ie, they prefer to use English in public/official domains and Indonesian in private domains), Worsley (1993) believes that a high degree of language shift is probable in the Indonesian/Malay community, in view of the high degree of code switching and code mixing within the Indonesian community in the metropolitan area of Sydney. He writes: 'it is possible that as generations pass by, the general trend towards the use of English by the young may see Indonesian replaced by Australian English as the primary language' (Worsley 1993:15).

6.4.2.3 Japanese in Australia[26]

At the turn of the century, there were 3500 Japanese living in Australia. The Australian Census data showed this number to have increased to 8086 and 11 160 in 1981 and 1986, respectively. Over the last few years, the Japanese community has been one the fastest growing language communities in Australia. In 1991, there were 21 100 Japanese living in Australia. This was partly due to the rise in the number of Japanese companies establishing their subsidiaries in Australia. In 1988-89, these companies employed over 2000 individuals. The Japanese community is concentrated mainly in Sydney and Melbourne. More recently, a considerable number of Japanese immigrants have settled in Queensland. Compared to other language communities in Australia, the Japanese community is small and different in its make-up. It falls into two groups:

1. *The 'sojourners'; ie, temporary migrants/residents consisting mainly of businessmen and professionals (and their families), who are posted in Australia for a limited time, and short term visitors and students, and*
2. *The permanent Japanese community.*

26 The materials found in Section 6.4.2.3 are substantially based on Marriott et al (1993).

6. 4. 2. 4. *Spanish in Australia*[27]

Between 1986 and 1991, almost 18 000 people of Spanish-speaking background migrated to Australia, bringing the total figure of the Spanish community to 90 300 (1986 Census and BIR figures 1991). The majority of the Spanish-speaking population - some 40 507 people - is located in New South Wales.

Although very little research has so far been conducted on the Spanish language in Australia, the strong ethnolinguistic vitality of the Spanish community is manifested through the numerous Spanish-speaking clubs, cultural and sporting organisations (115 listed in 1992). Some of these are:

1. The Spanish and Latin American Association for Social Assistance (SLASA). Created in 1978, this association provides information about welfare services and cultural activities. The SLASA lobbies the Government for Spanish-speaking community welfare assistance and publishes a magazine called *Convergencia*.
2. The Association of Iberian and Latin American Studies in Australia (AILASA). Established in 1991, the aim of AILASA is to promote research and teaching in Iberian and Latin American Studies.
3. The Spanish-speaking Education Council. The main objective of the Council is to act as a bridge between the Spanish-speaking community and Australian education authorities by fostering the Spanish community's involvement in schools, promoting the teaching of the Spanish language at all levels, coordinating, informing and encouraging the active participation of the Spanish community in educational, social and cultural matters, and supporting and expanding the existing Spanish language programs.

Other significant community organisations are the Chilean Association, the Salvadorean Association and the Nicaraguan Association. Similar associations exist in other States.

All these community organisations receive financial support from the Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs. They also receive financial aid from the Spanish government which spends around $2 million each year to promote the teaching of Spanish in Australia. The recent creation of the Cervantes Institute is expected to help increase this contribution in the future.

The ethnolinguistic vitality of the Spanish language also shows through community language use. According to the 1990-91 Annual Report of the New South Wales Ethnic Affairs Commission, with 1371 interpreting assignments and 500 translations, Spanish is the fourth most popular language for which interpreters are required in the State after Vietnamese, Arabic and Chinese. The local Spanish language press also plays an important role. There are four major newspapers

27 The materials found in Section 6.4.2.4 are substantially based on Valverde (1994).

published weekly in Australia. These are: *Extra Informativo* (24 000 copies), *El Espanol en Australia* (17 000 copies), *The Spanish Herald* (15 000 copies) and *Semana* (14 000 copies). Impressive numbers of books in the Spanish language, including dictionaries and encyclopaedias, are also sold in major bookshops around Australia. Nevertheless, Valverde notes that the 12-17 and the 18-25 age groups prefer to use English in some situations. This trend may be an indication for language shift in these generations in the not distant future (1993:139).

6.4.3 Summary

As can be seen, some aspects of this overview of the Profiles of Nine Key Languages in Australia are far from exhaustive, especially with regard to languages such as Arabic, French, Indonesian/Malay, Japanese and Spanish. This is due to the data either not being available (eg. Spanish or Arabic) or to each report emphasising different aspects of the profiles of these languages. Nevertheless, an overview of regular users of the nine key languages in the Australian community over the last 15 years suggests an overall increase in the non-English speaking population of Australia. This increase is quite remarkable in the case of Chinese (an increase of 187 497 speakers over 15 years), Arabic (an increase of 111 616 speakers over 15 years), Spanish (an increase of 41 957 speakers over 15 years), Indonesian/Malay (an increase of 9913 speakers over five years) and Japanese (an increase of 8689 speakers over five years). In 1991, 15 per cent of the Australian population spoke a LOTE at home. The majority of these people (except Greeks and Italians) were born overseas. According to the 1991 Census, 47 per cent of people who speak Greek and 43 per cent of people who speak Italian were Australian born. Table 9 provides a summary of the speakers of the nine key languages in Australia in 1976, 1986 and 1991.

Table 9: Speakers of the Nine Key Languages in 1976, 1986 and 1991

Languages	1976 Census	1986 Census	1991 Census
Arabic	1 81 284	110 187	62 900
Chinese	39 003	130 100	17 400
French	1 64 851	82 700	45 400
German	1 170 644	111 276	13 300
Greek	262 177	277 472	85 700
Indonesian/Malay	.	19 887	29 800
Italian	444 672	415 765	18 800
Japanese	48 343	73 961	90 300
National Totals	**1 071 874**	**1 221 849**	**1 284 700**

Sources: Clyne 1982:12, 1991a:248-251 and ABS 1991 Census, Catalogue No 2821.0

a estimate

6. 5 The Nine Key Languages in Australian Education: Quantitative Data

This section presents data on the provision and delivery of the nine key languages at all levels in the Australian education system since the 1987 NPL. The materials found in this section are substantially based on the work of the authors of the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* (see Campbell et al. 1993, Cryle et al. 1993, Di Biase et al. 1994, Fernandez et al. 1993, Marriott et al. 1993, Smith et al. 1993, Tamis and Gauntiett 1993, Valverde 1994 and Worsley 1993).

This section presents both quantitative (ie, who studies which language and where) and qualitative data (ie, issues of transition between primary and post-primary, availability, quality and usefulness of language materials and resources and teachers qualifications).

6. 5. 1. Arabic

Although Arabic was introduced in Australian universities in the early 1960s - 23 students were enrolled in the language at Melbourne University in 1964 - it was not reported in the school system until 1975, when it was taught to 306 pupils in two Catholic schools in New South Wales. The first matriculation examination in this State was held in 1980, with 85 candidates. The number of candidates rose to 196 in 1986 (Lo Bianco 1987:28) and to 5883 in 1988 (DEET 1988:4-7).

Arabic is currently being taught at primary school level in a largely language maintenance framework, mainly in New South Wales and Victoria where it has its broad base. About 4000 pupils, mainly of Arabic-speaking background, learn the language or learn through the language. A substantial proportion of these pupils is to be found outside mainstream education, in ethnic (7000 students) and Government after-hours schools (2500 students).

According to the Office of Education and Youth Affairs of the State, there were 56 Arabic ethnic schools in New South Wales in 1990, with an enrolment of 8932 pupils. In Victoria, there were eight ethnic schools offering Arabic to a total of 980 pupils. Recent data indicate that enrolment in this State has increased to 1037 pupils in 1991. Ethnic schools in both New South Wales and Victoria receive Commonwealth funding. There are two ethnic schools in South Australia (the Egyptian Coptic School and the Arabic Language School) and three Islamic schools in the Australian Capital Territory (these are not specifically Arabic). Most of these schools provide language maintenance and mother tongue development programs and most of their students are native speakers of the language.

According to data from the New South Wales Department of School Education mid-year census for 1990, at least 3000 pupils received instruction in Arabic in primary schools in New South Wales, mainly in Sydney's west and south-west. Arabic is also taught at secondary level with some 7409 students enrolled. This represents 12.58 per cent of the total non-English speaking background school population enrolled or 2.44 per cent of the total school population. In 1991, eight schools offered a mainstream Arabic program in New South Wales.

In 1990-91, Arabic was taught to a total of 1847 pupils (1991 figure) in eight Victorian Government schools (535 pupils), ten Catholic schools (739 pupils (1990 figure)) and three Independent schools (573 pupils). At the secondary school level, the language was first offered at Brunswick East High in 1981. From only two secondary colleges offering Arabic in 1989, there were seven in 1992. Arabic enrolments at the Victorian School of Languages have jumped from 312 students in 1991 to approximately 460 students in 1992.

About 300 students were enrolled in Arabic at university level in 1990, and Leal et al. (1991) listed it as the 11th most studied language at tertiary level. In that year, Arabic was offered at seven tertiary institutions in Australia (three in Victoria, two in New South Wales, one in the Australian Capital Territory and one in South Australia). It accounted for a total of 4.87 EFTSUs[28] at the Australian National University, or 1.48 per cent of enrolments in languages at undergraduate level in 1990 (Leal et al. 1991). Data from the University of Sydney for the same year showed a total of 8.30 EFTSUs in Arabic at undergraduate level, 0.7 EFTSUs at Honours level and 5.0 EFTSUs at postgraduate level. The Institute of Education of the University of Sydney also reported 0.8 EFTSUs. At the University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, where the language is offered in the Division of Languages in the Bachelor of Arts (Translation and Interpreting) and in the Bachelor of Arts (Languages), it accounted for 17.6 EFTSUs (Leal et al. 1991).

Arabic was also offered by a number of tertiary institutions in Victoria. Some of these were the University of Melbourne (10.16 EFTSUs at the undergraduate level and 0.1 EFTSU in the Institute of Education, Diploma of Education program), the Royal Melbourne University of Technology Coburg (previously Phillip Institute of Technology, with 2.96 EFTSUs) and Deakin University, Toorak (formerly Victoria College, with 8.57 EFTSUs at the undergraduate level).

---

28 EFTSU (Equivalent Full Time Student Unit). Since each Australian university uses a different credit point system for subjects, a common, funding-based, equivalence system has been devised to provide corresponding information for courses across all higher education institutions. Each EFTSU represents the equivalent of one student studying a language full time for one year. While EFTSUs quantify total load, they do not indicate how many students are studying a language, ie, 10 EFTUs might represent 80 first year students studying a language for a quarter of their time for one semester or 20 third year students studying a language for half their time for a year.

TAFE and adult education provide Arabic classes to hundreds of students. Adult education caters mainly for a non-Arabic speaking clientele (mostly business people and community workers) and most institutions of adult education in Arabic only run beginner courses. The demand is low with average enrolments ranging between 10 and 20 students. The same situation prevails at TAFE Colleges where Arabic is poorly represented. Only two TAFE Colleges (one in Victoria and the other in the Australian Capital Territory) offered Arabic in 1992. Other providers of the language with low average enrolments include the Queensland Institute of Languages at the University of Queensland and the University of North Queensland, the Institute of Languages of the University of New South Wales, the St George and Sutherland Regional Evening Colleges of Sydney, the Sydney Community College, the Parramatta Regional Evening College, the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of Sydney, the Workers Educational Association of Sydney, the Council of Adult Education of Melbourne and the Workers Education Association of Adelaide.

6. 5. 2. Chinese

Although Chinese has a long history of use as a community language in Australia, its history in formal education institutions below the tertiary level is very short. The first classes at secondary school were offered in Victoria in 1961. Nevertheless, it was not until the late 1980s that the first significant number of students enrolled in Chinese at this level. Since the 1987 NPL, the number of students enrolled in Chinese at primary school level has increased significantly. While approximately 2300 students were enrolled in Chinese language in 1988, there were over 12 300 who were studying the language by 1991. This represents an increase of about 440 per cent. The increase at secondary school level, an average of 14 per cent, has been modest. Table 10 shows that, while there was a slight decrease in numbers in New South Wales and the Northern Territory, and a stable trend in Western Australia, Tasmania and the ACT, there was considerable growth in Victoria, Queensland and South Australia from 1988 to 1991.

Table 10: *Total number of students enrolled in Chinese by State in 1988-91.*

State/ Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
1988	1 699	3 999	1 523	2 100	1 351	84	249	370	11 375
1991	1 488	10 369	6 237	2 331	4 460	106	191	380	25 562

Chinese is poorly represented in the Catholic school system. The overall number of enrolments is not only low, but has remained practically unchanged since 1988 (from 2020 in 1988 to 2022 in 1991). The only exception is Western Australia where the largest number of pupils enrolled in Chinese is in the Catholic schools. Nevertheless, the pattern of growth in the number of students taking up the study of Chinese is remarkable in Government schools. The total of primary and secondary students of the language has increased by 9995 students, from 6268 in 1988 to 16 263 in 1991. This is even better than the total of students enrolled in the language in Independent schools (a difference of 4981 - see Table 11), considering Independent schools have a long history of teaching Chinese.

In most States, except for Tasmania where the number of secondary students in Government schools dropped slightly (from 49 in 1988 to 47 in 1991) and the Australian Capital Territory where a drop in enrolments occurred at the secondary school level in Independent schools, the increase in student numbers in both school systems is quite important. In South Australia for example, the increase in the number of pupils in Government schools from 1988 to 1991 represents a growth of 600 per cent. At the same level, the increase in the number of pupils learning Chinese in Independent schools (from 108 in 1988 to 612 in 1991) represents a growth of 467 per cent. At secondary school level, it represents a growth of 634 per cent. As the data summarised in Table 11 show, except for New South Wales and the Northern Territory where the research team encountered some difficulty with the collection of data, the numbers have generally increased in Government and Independent schools. The only decrease (from 332 pupils in 1988 to 83 pupils in 1991) occurred in Independent schools in the Australian Capital Territory.

Ethnic schools play an important role in the teaching/learning of Chinese language. While there were only three Chinese ethnic schools in Australia in 1913 (one in Melbourne and two in Sydney), and even though many had to close their doors in the 1930s because they could not find enough people to teach the language, the number of ethnic schools teaching Chinese has increased rapidly ever since. This was due in part to the fact that the Chinese population began to grow again in the 1970s, following an increase in Chinese-speaking migrants arriving in Australia. By 1985, there were 14 major schools operating in the Sydney metropolitan area alone. Most of these schools offered classes at weekends. In 1991, there were 9554 students enrolled in Chinese in ethnic schools funded by the Department of Education, Employment and Training. When compared with data provided by the New South Wales Department of Education according to which there were 6365 students of Modern Chinese and Cantonese in New South Wales ethnic schools alone, the above figure (9554 students) is far from being representative of the actual number of students enrolled in the language. Overall, it is estimated that over 90 ethnic and Saturday schools provide a variety of language programs to between 13 000 and 14 000 Chinese individuals.

Table 11: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in Chinese by State and Education System in 1988 and 1991.*

Education system / States	Level	Government schools 1988	Government schools 1991	Independent schools 1988	Independent schools 1991	Catholic schools 1988	Catholic schools 1991
New South Wales	primary	459	1488	-	-	-	-
	secondary	1 103	[a] 708	-	-	-	-
Victoria	primary	454	3 069	113	2 051	151	-
	secondary	1 390	1 568	1 891	3 651	-	300
Queensland	primary	969	3 479	-	315	-	74
	secondary	225	1 243	329	722	-	404
Western Australia	primary	15	120	-	79	1 710	1 057
	secondary	246	600	80	200	49	169
South Australia	primary	355	2 484	108	612	-	-
	secondary	716	[a] 869	65	477	110	18
Tasmania	primary	-	-	-	-	-	-
	secondary	49	47	35	59	-	-
Northern Territory	primary	138	164	-	-	-	-
	secondary	111	127	-	-	-	-
Australian Capital Territory	primary	-	173	-	-	-	-
	secondary	38	124	332	83	-	-
TOTAL		**6 268**	**16 263**	**2 953**	**7 934**	**2 020**	**2 022**

a. 1990 figure

As in the case of the primary and secondary levels, there has been a significant increase in the number of tertiary institutions offering Chinese since 1987. While nine universities and four Colleges of Advanced Education offered Chinese in 1988, this number has increased to 23 tertiary institutions with a total of 2138 students in 1992. TAFE and other university institutes of languages (or extension courses) are the other main providers of Chinese. It is estimated that 1050 students enrolled in Chinese language in TAFE Colleges in 1991-92. However, the research team for the Chinese language profile was not able to obtain data from these institutions.

6. 5. 3. French

The history of French instruction in formal education in Australia goes back to the 1850s. French was introduced at the Sydney Grammar School in 1889 by a group of businessmen for its commercial value. As a result, Business French classes flourished during the 1890s[29]. By 1902, French had become the most popular subject at the Senior Public Examination. The prominence of French in Australian schools was boosted when, during the two World Wars, the teaching of German was banned. Since then, French has maintained a prominent position in language teaching in Australia.

The importance of the French language in the Australian education system is illustrated by the enrolment figures, with a total of 168 300 primary and secondary students studying the language in 1988, and 142 953 in 1991. Until the recent growth of Asian languages, and especially of Japanese, French was the most studied language in all States except for Northern Territory. Since 1988, although enrolments have remained steady and have even increased slightly in most States, New South Wales and Western Australia have experienced a marked decline in the number of students choosing to enrol in the language. However, it needs to be borne in mind that what looks like a decline is in part due to the difficulties the research team experienced in collecting the data. Thus New South Wales where no data were obtained for the number of pupils studying French in 1991 (all schools systems included) accounts for 20 261 in the overall decline of 25 347. Likewise, no data were obtained from primary and secondary schools in Tasmania and the Northern Territory, and from Independent and Catholic schools in particular, in 1988 and 1991. The incomplete nature of the data, compounded by the fact that the figures provided are sometimes spread over a number of years, makes it difficult to establish a clear trend in enrolments and draw a definite conclusion.

Nevertheless, where figures are available, a closer analysis from the point of view of the level of study of the language (primary versus secondary) and the different school systems from 1988 to 1991 shows more instances of a decrease in enrolments (19 instances) (see Table 12). The combined total per school system also shows a decrease from 1988 to 1991. The most important of these have occurred in Independent and Government schools (12 445 and 9048, respectively).

As opposed to Arabic, Indonesian/Malay, Italian and Greek which have huge enrolments at the primary school level (including ethnic schools), the bulk of enrolments in French - and the same is true for Japanese - is concentrated at the secondary and tertiary levels as shown in Table 12.

---

29 It is interesting to see that the economic value of learning a foreign language was already one of the main reasons for introducing foreign languages in the education system in the nineteenth century. Although the focus may have shifted from French and European languages in general to Asian languages, the underlying process remains the same. As Moore would put it, this is an integral part of the ongoing shift in 'enchantments and displacements' (cf. Moore 1991 45-85).

Table 12: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in French by State and Education System in 1988 and 1991.*

Education system / States	Level	Government schools 1988	Government schools 1991	Independent schools 1988	Independent schools 1991	Catholic schools 1988	Catholic schools 1991
New South Wales	primary	444	-	2 383	-	61	-
	secondary	24 616	[b] 17 855	9 540	-	4 378	3 306
Victoria	primary	355	-	2 040	3 424	[a] 492	[b] 848
	secondary	28 008	27 352	16 883	15 037	14 594	[b] 14 704
Queensland	primary	826	6 008	834	[b] 1 209	22	-
	secondary	14 121	9 936	3 191	[b] 6 012	3 825	3 432
Western Australia	primary	2 300	-	1 241	951	182	14
	secondary	3 895	3 970	2 484	1 620	1 862	1 274
South Australia	primary	3 889	[b] 4 407	1 296	1 898	574	220
	secondary	6 553	[b] 6 065	2 287	2 011	1 597	1 902
Tasmania	primary	174	[c] 422	523	-	882	545
	secondary	3 247	[c] 2 893	1 928	-	-	-
Northern Territory	primary	67	49	-	-	142	-
	secondary	322	418	-	-	-	-
Australian Capital Territory	primary	1 456	2 117	60	285	30	-
	secondary	2 248	1 981	1 053	851	1 395	1 146
TOTAL		**92 521**	**83 473**	**45 743**	**33 298**	**30 036**	**27 391**

a. 1989 figure
b. 1990 figure
c. 1992 figure

French is still the most widely taught language in the senior secondary school systems and in Independent schools (especially girls' schools). Several of these schools (eg, Narrabundah College in the Australian Capital Territory, the Lycée Condorcet in Sydney (NSW), Benowa and Mansfield SHSs in Queensland, Camberwell PS in Victoria) run partial immersion programs in French.

At the tertiary level, the patterns of enrolment, the staffing arrangements and the structure of the curriculum have changed over the past two decades. Between 1981 and 1990, the number of students enrolled in French at tertiary institutions dropped from 10 222 EFTSUs to 7228 EFTSUs (DEET 1991b:71). This was due in part to the changes in the design of the Arts degree in most faculties during the 1970s and, as already pointed out above, to the growing interest in Asian languages. However, enrolments in French have slightly recovered from the early decrease in numbers as a result of some innovative language programs. Most departments now record stability, and in some cases increases, in their enrolment figures. Some universities such as Monash University, James Cook University, Queensland University of Technology and the Edith Cowan University now offer a range of courses (eg, French for business purposes) or combined degrees with a structured LOTE component (eg, BA/BE in Chemical, Civil, Materials or Mechanical Engineering).

The number of students enrolled in the various French language programs delivered through distance provision is difficult to evaluate. Many institutions offering these programs report that they do not keep enrolment figures. However, figures from the University of New South Wales Institute of Languages (UNSWIL), for instance, show that enrolments in French from 1985 to 1987 increased noticeably each year. The Macquarie Continuing Education Program (1988-92) shows numbers in French remaining steady throughout the last four years. Likewise, French enrolments remained steady from 1985 to 1988 (slightly over 200 students every year) at the University of Queensland's Institute of Modern Languages. Enrolments at this institution increased to 372 students in 1991. The TV Open Learning Project provided by the University of New England, 'French in Action', has been very successful in attracting new enrolments. As at April 1992, there were 1914 students enrolled in this course.

As in the case of teaching/learning French through distance provision, it is difficult to have reliable detail of the numbers in the TAFE system, because of the discrepancy between the number of courses offered and the number actually taught (ie, courses are only taught where enrolment demand reaches a threshold level of 10 or 15 students per class) (Baker and White 1991:16). A survey of students (Baker and White 1991:81) indicates that 13.6 per cent of students in the TAFE system learn French. However, the attrition rate is quite high (31.3 per cent) (Baker and White 1991:69-70)

French is also taught by 23 Alliances Françaises throughout Australia. Student numbers in the Alliance courses have increased from 3000 in 1986 to 7000 in 1991, with further increases of about 20 per cent a year in Sydney and 15 per cent a year in Melbourne (Lo Bianco and Monteil 1990:11).

6. 5. 4. German

The German language has a long history as a community language and as a language of education in Australia. Although this history has been greatly affected by world events (eg, First and Second World Wars) the place of German in schools strengthened from the mid-1960s as it began to be recognised as an important international language. Since then, it has maintained its position as a language widely offered and studied across all sectors of Australian education.

Indeed, as is shown in Table 13, the combined total of primary and secondary students enrolled in German point to an overall increase from 96 295 students in 1988 to 108 527 students in 1991. This increase was particularly important in South Australia (7085 students) and Queensland (4985 students). Other States such as Victoria, Western Australia, the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory also had slight increases in student numbers; only New South Wales and Tasmania had a slight decrease in student numbers.

Table 13: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in German by State in 1988 and 1991.*

State/ Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
1988	21 564	26 257	17 477	2 754	20 629	3 289	468	3 857	96 295
1991	20 017	28 555	22 462	3 025	27 714	2 393	476	3 885	108 527

The combined total of primary and secondary students enrolled in German by State and education system confirms this pattern of steady growth, at least in Government and Independent schools (see Table 14). The increase in both education systems is in the order of 3704 and 8932 students respectively. Although German is very weakly represented in the Catholic school system, it has only experienced a very slight decrease (only 404 students) from 1988 to 1991. The data therefore suggest that German is quite 'healthy' at both primary and secondary levels. This situation may be the direct result of most States and Territories having increased the provision of German in primary schools, particularly in Queensland, South Australia, Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory. This could have important long term implications for secondary school German programs as the increased numbers flow on to this sector. However, as pointed out earlier in the case of French, in view of the incompleteness and varied nature of the data, this possibility should be considered with caution. On the other

hand, there are significant drops in the number of students enrolled in German within education systems in States such as New South Wales (in Government primary and secondary schools, as well as in Catholic secondary schools), Victoria (in Independent and Catholic secondary schools), Queensland (in Government and Catholic secondary schools), Tasmania (Government secondary schools), the Northern Territory (Government secondary schools) and the Australian Capital Territory (Government and Catholic secondary schools) (see Table 14).

Table 14: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in German by State and Education System in 1988 and 1991.*

Education system	**Level**	**Government schools**		**Independent schools**		**Catholic schools**	
States		1988	1991	1988	1991	1988	1991
New South Wales	primary	1 233	634	[a]354	1 407	-	-
	secondary	15 250	[b]11 455	[a]4 163	6 026	564	495
Victoria	primary	2 745	3 862	847	2 084	-	[b]24
	secondary	14 632	14 782	6 569	6 362	1 464	1 441
Queensland	primary	824	4 951	493	672	-	-
	secondary	12 118	11 327	2 508	4 060	1 534	1 452
Western Australia	primary	760	[c]1 000	192	70	-	-
	secondary	902	[b]936	900	1 019	-	-
South Australia	primary	9 788	[b]10 825	1 445	3 240	-	-
	secondary	8 150	[b]11 327	1 246	2 155	-	167
Tasmania	primary	-	-	-	-	-	-
	secondary	3 289	2 393	-	-	-	-
Northern Territory	primary	75	175	-	-	[a]132	150
	secondary	261	151	-	-	-	-
Australian Capital	primary	-	433	475	751	-	-
Territory	secondary	1 502	982	1 055	1 333	825	386
TOTAL		**71 529**	**75 233**	**20 247**	**29 179**	**4 519**	**4 115**

a. 1989 figure
b. 1990 figure
c. estimate for 1991

This decline is reflected in the number of Year 12 candidates. A summary of the figures available shows that there was a fall in the number of Year 12 candidates in German in all States (see Table 15). In New South Wales for instance, the number of Year 12 candidates dropped from 1720 candidates in 1988 to 908 candidates in 1991. In Victoria, the number of Year 12 candidates dropped from 500 candidates in 1988 to 474 in 1991 and in Tasmania, this number dropped from 163 in 1988 to 132 in 1991. Clearly, a fall of this magnitude at Year 12 level should be a matter for concern.

Table 15: *Number of Year 12 Candidates in German by State in 1988 and 1991*

State/ Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
1988	1 720	500	465	:	421	163	:	:	3 269
1991	908	474	428	:	408	132	:	:	2 350

German is also offered in ethnic schools. The first German ethnic school was established in 1839 in South Australia. In 1992, there were 42 ethnic schools around Australia - except in Tasmania, the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory - with a combined enrolment of approximately 2500 students.

At the tertiary level, the demand for German language courses has significantly increased during the past four years, with indications that interest in the language has heightened in the two years since the emergence of a united Germany and its enhanced position as a dominant political and economic power in Europe. German is offered as a degree course at 15 universities around Australia, except in the Northern Territory. According to Goethe Institute estimates, there are approximately 2500 students enrolled in German at these institutions. As in the case of primary and secondary schools, there were difficulties in gathering data at the tertiary level. In addition, most of the data available were analysed and presented in so many ways (either in enrolment numbers or EFTSUs) that it was not possible to give a full picture of the situation of enrolments in German. Nevertheless, data for the past four to five year period reveal a steady growth for Monash University (from 157 students in 1988 to 294 students in 1992), the University of Melbourne (from 180 students in 1988 to 304 students in 1992), the University of Western Australia (from 34.220 EFTSUs in 1989 to 39.640 EFTSUs in 1991), the University of New South Wales (from 299 students to 460 students), the

University of Tasmania (from 78 students in 1990 to 134 students in 1991). Even the figures from the University of Queensland, which showed a fall in numbers between 1986 and 1987 (from 107 students to 99 students) recovered as student numbers increased to their highest level in 1992 (131 students). Data from the University of Adelaide and the University of New England reveal fluctuations in enrolments, while data from the University of Sydney show a decrease in student numbers between 1989 and 1991 (from 138.1 EFTSUs in 1989 to 116.1 EFTSUs in 1991). Thus, the overall situation of German language courses at university level is a stable one.

According to Baker and White (1991), 13 per cent of LOTE students at TAFE colleges around Australia study German. Data collected by the Centre for Language Teaching and Research in the course of a study commissioned by the Goethe Institute indicated that there were 36 TAFE colleges offering a variety of German courses in 1992. However, the situation at TAFE appears to be very fluid. Although individual colleges such as the Adelaide College of TAFE, the Central Metropolitan College of TAFE in Perth, the Cairns College of TAFE in Queensland and Holmesglen and Box Hill Colleges of TAFE in Melbourne report steady or increasing demand for the language, the demand for German language courses in the TAFE sector reveals a somewhat inconsistent pattern both across and within States over the past five years. For example, six TAFE colleges - one in each State - have discontinued German courses since 1990.

A great variety and number of German language courses are also available through other providers such as the Council of Adult Education (CAE), the Workers Educational Association (WEA), Institutes of Modern Languages and Continuing Education at universities, the Goethe Institute, private language schools, distance education, neighbourhood houses and local learning centres, centres for secondary school level/adult matriculation language study and Community Classes/ Evening Colleges. Although student numbers are not given, it is claimed that the demand for German language courses through these providers is strong and consistent.

6. 5. 5. Modern Greek

There is a variety of Greek programs in Australian schools (bilingual, immersion, partial immersion, maintenance, second language programs). In 1992, Modern Greek was offered as a mother tongue development program or as a second language in over 20 Kindergartens throughout Australia. There are also several bilingual kindergarten and child care programs in Modern Greek operating in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia.

Table 16 shows a steady growth in the number of primary and secondary students enrolled in Modern Greek between 1988 and 1992, except for Queensland the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory (no figure available for Tasmania). While the increase in numbers in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia can be in part attributed to the important contribution of student numbers in ethnic schools, the fall in the number of students in Queensland and especially in the Northern Territory where the Greek community comes second only to the Aboriginal community, is quite remarkable.

Table 16: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in Modern Greek by State in 1988 and 1992*

State/ Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
1988	5 515	7 766	196	114	5 640	.	528	400	20 159
1992	6 431	8 277	96	959	6 282	.	178	331	22 554

When these figures are analysed from the point of view of the different education systems, it appears that the bulk of the data provided in the Greek report essentially concerns Government schools. Thus, as Table 17 shows, Modern Greek is very poorly represented in both Independent and Catholic schools. When looked at from the point of view of the primary school level versus the secondary school level, the data show that there is a large number of students enrolled in Modern Greek at primary school level (11 533 pupils in 1988 and 14 049 pupils in 1992). This is probably due to the number of pupils enrolled in ethnic schools, including Greek Orthodox schools (about 29 per cent of total enrolments in Modern Greek at this level).

Ethnic schools play an important role in the teaching of Modern Greek throughout Australia. It is estimated that there were almost 22 000 students enrolled in Modern Greek in more than 400 after-hours schools run by the Greek community in all States and Territories in 1992 (Tamis and Gauntlett 1993:71). Recently, however, there has been a moderate decline in the number of students enrolled in Modern Greek in ethnic schools. For example, the number of students enrolled in schools administered by Greek Orthodox communities and parishes affiliated with the Archdiocese has declined by 25 per cent, from 15 672 students in 1987 to 11 650 students in 1992. Over the same period, the overall decline was just under seven per cent for other Greek ethnic schools in Australia. Nevertheless, ethnic schools were the second largest provider of Modern Greek in Western Australia, and no less than 12 779 students were enrolled in the language in Victorian ethnic schools.

Student numbers at secondary school level stood at 8626 in 1988 and fell to 8505 in 1992. Greek Orthodox schools represented six per cent of these enrolments. Considering that Modern Greek was only introduced in the secondary school system in the early 1970s, these figures are encouraging. Also encouraging is the proportion of non-Greek background students enrolled in the language at this level. This proportion is highest in New South Wales (37 per cent) and Victoria (28 per cent), and lowest in South Australia (7 per cent).

Table 17: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in Modern Greek by State and Education System in 1988 and 1992.*

Education system	Level	Government schools		Independent schools		Catholic schools	
States		1988	1992	1988	1992	1988	1992
New South Wales	primary	2 351	3 581	..	..	-	38
	secondary	3 164	2 850	..	..	-	-
Victoria	primary	3 939	4 265	..	..	-	94
	secondary	3 837	4 013	..	334	-	-
Queensland	primary	90	..	..	..	-	-
	secondary	106	98	..	..	-	-
Western Australia	primary	84	916	..	..	-	-
	secondary	80	43	..	..	-	-
South Australia	primary	4 327	4 956	..	..	-	-
	secondary	1 313	1 326	..	..	-	-
Tasmania	primary	..	..	..	..	-	-
	secondary	..	..	..	..	-	-
Northern Territory	primary	421	..	..	..	-	-
	secondary	107	178	..	..	-	-
Australian Capital Territory	primary	331	331	..	..	-	
	secondary	69	..	..	..	-	-
TOTAL		**20 159**	**22 554**	**-**	**334**	**-**	**132**

According to the authors of the Modern Greek report, this language has the strongest retention rate amongst all LOTE taught in Government schools, up to Year 12, in all States and Territories (Tamis and Gauntiett 1993:52). However, the attrition rate in student numbers in Victorian Government schools in 1991 stood at 71 per cent, as enrolments in Modern Greek dropped from 1294 in Year 7 to 373 in Year 10. This is not an encouraging sign for the language, in view of the fact that Victoria is the State with the most highly developed provision for Modern Greek in Australia. Enrolments in Modern Greek at the secondary school level in Victoria alone represented 47 per cent of all Government secondary school students enrolled in the language across Australia in 1991.

Modern Greek courses have been available at the tertiary level in Australia for 25 years. In 1992, it was amongst the seven languages most widely taught at this level. However, it remains under-represented, with only 1150 students enrolled at undergraduate level. This represented 445 EFTSUs in 1992. Tamis claims that this figure is 'more than 450 EFTSUs' (Tamis and Gauntiett 1993:98). A total of 67 students, or six per cent of the total, were enrolled in Honours and postgraduate studies. According to Tamis, who rejects the estimates of Leal et al. (Leal et al. 1991:88), this number represents 23.5 per cent of the total Honours and postgraduate enrolments in Australia (Tamis and Gauntiett 1993:105-106).

Modern Greek has also been offered without interruption in the Distance Education Centres of Victoria and New South Wales since 1978. In 1992, it was the fifth most popular language offered by these Distance Education Centres, with a total of 130 students. In the same year, the School of Languages of New South Wales and Victoria offered Modern Greek courses to 965 and 1117 students respectively. The New South Wales Saturday School of Community Languages also operated LOTE classes in 16 metropolitan and country centres, attracting some 895 students in Modern Greek.

6. 5. 6. Indonesian/Malay

The teaching of Indonesian/Malay in Australia was initiated by the Commonwealth Government in the 1950s. In those years, only a few students studied the language in secondary schools in Victoria and South Australia and in three universities; namely, Canberra University College (now the Australian National University) (Australian Capital Territory), the University of Melbourne (Victoria) and the University of Sydney (New South Wales). By 1988, almost 25 000 students were enrolled in Indonesian/Malay at primary and secondary levels throughout Australia and the language became the fifth most widely studied in Australian secondary schools after French, German, Italian and Japanese, and

the sixth most studied language in primary schools after Italian, German, French, Modern Greek and Japanese. In 1991, there were more than 45 000 students learning the language at these levels. This represented an increase of 20 000 students or 82.54 per cent of the total number of students studying Indonesian/Malay. The remarkable growth in the number of students enrolled in Indonesian/Malay can be seen in all States as shown in Table 18. As in the case of many other languages, Victoria had the largest number of students enrolled in Indonesian/Malay in 1991 (36.12 per cent of total student numbers). It was followed by the Northern Territory (15.73 per cent of total student numbers in 1991).

Table 18: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in Indonesian/Malay by State in 1988 and 1991*

State/ Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
1988	3 862	10 571	1 003	1 288	2 995	981	2 317	1 908	24 925
1991	4 723	16 434	4 189	2 147	5 473	2 926	7 161	2 444	45 498

A look at the combined total of primary and secondary school students enrolled in Indonesian/Malay by State and education system also shows a pattern of steady increase across education systems (see Table 19). This increase was most important at primary school level (10 744 or 180.9 per cent). One may note that the language was not taught at this level in Tasmania in 1991. Government schools contributed most to this increase in terms of secondary and primary school students (69.36 per cent and 74.72 per cent respectively). In 1988, 61.17 per cent of the secondary school students enrolled in Indonesian/Malay were in Government schools. At primary school level, this proportion was as high as 82.84 per cent. In 1991, Independent schools represented 20.72 per cent of total enrolments, while Catholic schools represented only 10.31 per cent of this total. It is suggested in the Indonesian/Malay report that this proportion is most probably overestimated, in view of the fact that the numbers of students enrolled at Independent and Catholic schools in the Australian Capital Territory were combined, and that the figures had to be arbitrarily divided by two. This procedure also suggests that the number of students in Independent schools is slightly underestimated.

However, as in the case of German, one should interpret this pattern of growth with caution. In fact, as Table 20 shows, there was a decrease in the number of Year 12 students enrolled in Indonesian/Malay between 1988 and 1991.

Table 19: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in Indonesian/Malay by State and Education System in 1988 and 1991*

Education system / States	Level	Government schools 1988	Government schools 1991	Independent schools 1988	Independent schools 1991	Catholic schools 1988	Catholic schools 1991
New South Wales	primary	-	-	168	330	-	-
	secondary	2 357	2 405	1 181	1 634	156	354
Victoria	primary	650	3 182	175	309	-	22
	secondary	5 315	8 282	1 990	2 329	2 441	2 310
Queensland	primary	-	1 697	270	589	-	-
	secondary	370	1 106	311	617	52	180
Western Australia	primary	308	530	315	327	-	-
	secondary	128	278	533	1 007	4	5
South Australia	primary	1 871	3 415	9	20	-	699
	secondary	963	1 128	151	211	1	1
Tasmania	primary	198	-	-	-	-	-
	secondary	605	2 561	90	215	88	150
Northern Territory	primary	1 179	2 707	-	701	22	644
	secondary	899	1 905	-	1 009	217	195
Australian Capital Territory	primary	713	1 416	30	47	30	47
	secondary	977	766	79	84	79	84
TOTAL		**16 533**	**31 378**	**5 302**	**9 429**	**3 090**	**4 691**

This was due to a drop in the numbers of students in New South Wales and Victoria (which, as we have seen, had the largest number of students enrolled in Indonesian/Malay in 1991). The small increases in other States, some of which were the result of arbitrary statistical calculations (eg, the Australian Capital Territory) or of estimates made by the author of the Indonesian/Malay report (as in the case of Western Australia) could not compensate for this drop in numbers.

Table 20: *Number of Year 12 Candidates in Indonesian/Malay by State in 1988 and 1991*

State/ Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
1988	396	501	36	29	28	28	22	14	1 054
1991	289	225	59	[a] 70	23	61	43	21	791

a estimate

In 1988, Indonesian/Malay was the sixth most studied language at the tertiary level, with a total of 951 students. By 1992, the language was available at 22 tertiary institutions and the number of students enrolled in Indonesian/Malay increased from 200.2 EFTSUs in 1988 to 502.96 EFTSUs in 1992. This represents an increase of 151.2 per cent. Griffith University had the largest enrolment in 1992, with 53.60 EFTSUs, followed by Deakin University (42.75 EFTSUs) and the Australian National University (40.48 EFTSUs). Other major providers of Indonesian/Malay at the tertiary level were: Flinders (36.30 EFTSUs), La Trobe (35.58 EFTSUs), the University College of Southern Queensland (34.75 EFTSUs), the University of Sydney (34.10 EFTSUs) and Murdoch University (29.20 EFTSUs).

6. 5. 7. Italian

Italian is the language other than English most widespread in the Australian education system. One in twelve students in mainstream primary and secondary schools was studying Italian in 1991 (Di Biase et al. 1994:4). This means that there were at least 270 000 students of Italian spread throughout Australia. This is an increase of 29 094 students (or 10.69 per cent) between 1988 and 1991. Most States, except New South Wales, Tasmania and the Northern Territory, saw the number of students in Italian rise from their 1988 levels. Victoria (131 980 students in 1991), New South Wales (52 548 students in 1991) and Western Australia (36 205 students in 1991) have the largest number of students enrolled in Italian (see Table 21).

Table 21: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in Italian by State in 1988 and 1991*

State/ Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
1988	58 605	128 051	16 497	17 497	16 377	1 759	1 571	2 619	242 976
1991	52 548	131 980	21 640	36 205	24 067	1 573	716	3 341	272 070

From the education systems' point of view, most students of Italian at primary and secondary school levels were, in 1991, in Catholic (52.84 per cent) and Government schools (43.62 per cent). Italian was very poorly represented in Independent schools (only 3.53 per cent). Between 1988 and 1991, the number of students enrolled in the language increased in all three education systems, with the highest rise occurring in Government schools (15 423 students or 5.66 per cent of the 1991 total), followed by Catholic schools (9565 students or 3.51 per cent of the 1991 total).

As in the case of Arabic and Modern Greek, Italian is predominant at the primary school level with 198 746 pupils or 73.05 per cent of the combined total of primary and secondary students enrolled in the language. With over 73 000 students, Italian is also well represented at the secondary school level, especially in the Catholic school system. There are more students enrolled in Italian in Catholic secondary schools in every State except Queensland. This represents 52.7 per cent of all the enrolments in Italian at this level. The bulk of enrolments at secondary school level is in Victoria. This State leads all others with some 60 per cent of all enrolments at this level. Nevertheless, when compared with the numbers at primary school level, the proportion of students enrolled in Italian at secondary school level, some 26.95 per cent of the total, is small and suggests a sizeable attrition rate. It is also important to point out that, although there is a marked increase in Western Australia, South Australia and the Northern Territory, the majority of States, including Victoria, have been experiencing a slight decline in student numbers. As is shown in Table 22, this indicates that the flow-on effect that could have been expected from the huge numbers at the primary school level is not taking place so that the attrition rate is very high.

It is important to stress that insertion classes play a major part in the provision of Italian at primary school level. Insertion classes are language classes that are timetabled within the normal school hours. Initiated by the Comitato Assistenza Italiano (COASIT) in 1981, they have contributed to the status of Italian as the most studied language at primary school level, especially in Victoria, and have spread to a number of community-based school committees. In some cases, insertion classes have been used as the starting point of mainstream language programs. The majority of Italian insertion programs are run in the large urban centres. In 1991, the Melbourne COASIT and the Italo-Australian Foundation, with which it is now amalgamated, funded insertion classes in 246 Victorian primary schools (mostly in Catholic schools) for over 53 000 pupils (*Annual Report*, COASIT Melbourne 1991:38). The Sydney COASIT funded 124 Government and Catholic schools, and a few Independent schools, for a total of 34 000 children. The Brisbane COASIT also ran insertion classes for over 9000 pupils in 44 non-Government schools and a further 4000 pupils in 30 Government schools

(Marletta 1991:12). The COASIT in these three urban centres accounted for three quarters of the Italian insertion classes. Other committees are also involved in running insertion classes. In Queensland for instance, the Committee of the Sunshine Coast's Italian School at Bundella and the Italian Community Centre of Far North Queensland run insertion classes as well. There are similar organisations in South Australia and Tasmania.

Equally important in the delivery of Italian in schools are after-hours classes (no data provided by Di Biase et al.). These classes which are conducted mainly in Italian are said to be directed at children of Italian background only. They are most commonly held on Saturday mornings in Government and Catholic schools, other non-systemic schools, clubs, church halls, etc, and are funded by the communities, the Commonwealth and State Governments as well as the Italian government. In addition to these, there are locally-based and self-supporting committees that conduct classes in Italian. These sometime have to rely on volunteers. Such organisations have been reported to exist in Coffs Harbour (New South Wales), Kalgoorlie (Western Australia) and Hobart (Tasmania).

Between 1988 and 1991, the number of Year 12 candidates in Italian dropped slightly from 2610 to 2574 as shown in Table 23. Nevertheless, the fact that many students of Italian choose not to continue with the study of the language needs to be taken seriously. In 1990, from a total of 18 000 students in Year 7, there were only 1646 students in Year 12. While the retention rate is low between Year 7 and Year 10, more than two thirds of the students discontinue the study of Italian between Year 10 and Year 11. In fact, while the Year 12 Italian candidature had been increasing steadily from the 1960s to 1989-90, there was a sudden decrease in this candidature in 1992 (only 2444 candidates in 1992, as compared with 2610 students in 1988).

Table 22: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in Italian by State and Education System in 1988 and 1991*

Education system / States	Level	Government schools 1988	Government schools 1991	Independent schools 1988	Independent schools 1991	Catholic schools 1988	Catholic schools 1991
New South Wales	primary	29 578	26 379	856	1 603	17 949	14 500
	secondary	4 437	3 855	1 610	1 997	4 175	4 214
Victoria	primary	24 865	[a] 31 178	1 011	[a] 438	58 668	[a] 57 904
	secondary	17 005	17 976	357	439	26 145	24 045
Queensland	primary	8 710	9 781	39	-	3 838	9 444
	secondary	1 932	1 504	-	-	1 978	911
Western Australia	primary	3 465	13 700	437	313	7000	12 270
	secondary	2 562	2 813	265	3 960	3 768	3 149
South Australia	primary	6 799	8 009	521	864	3 163	8 775
	secondary	2 025	1 722	4	-	3 865	4 697
Tasmania	primary	45	[b] 398	54	-	425	[b] 389
	secondary	300	194	354	c	581	592
Northern Territory	primary	829	320		-	582	-
	secondary	80	139	-	-	80	257
Australian Capital Territory	primary	429	613	-	-	1 022	1 858
	secondary	194	97	c	c	974	773
TOTAL		**103 255**	**118 678**	**5 508**	**9 614**	**134 213**	**143 778**

a. 1990 figure
b. 1992 figures
c. Counted together with other systems.

Table 23: *Number of Year 12 Candidates in Italian by State in 1988 and 1991*

State/ Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
1988	808	842	163	358	349	56	349	34	2 610
1991	757	752	180	396	335	77	335	77	2 574

The University of Sydney was the only institution of higher education teaching Italian in 1950. This number grew to three universities in 1964, with the addition of the University of Melbourne and the University of Western Australia (Wykes 1966:51). By 1980, Italian was taught in 18 Colleges of Advanced Education with just under 700 students enrolled. Today, the study of Italian at university level is widespread. There are 25 universities which offer Italian at the undergraduate level across Australia. However, six of these offer less than a full undergraduate program. Only about one in three universities, usually the older ones, offers a program in Italian (ie, up to PhD level). Fewer than half of these institutions offer Honours, Masters or Postgraduate courses in Italian and there are very few students enrolled at these levels where these programs exist. This means that very few people choose to specialise in Italian at higher levels. It should also be noted that most Italian Departments do not offer vocational courses. Only five universities offer such courses. In 1992, Italian had a total of 885 EFTSUs, with more than two thirds of these concentrated in New South Wales (301 students or 35.02 per cent of the total EFTSUs) and Victoria (292 students or 32.99 per cent of the total EFTSUs) (Leal et al. 1991). According to the White Paper (DEET 1991b:71), there was a decrease in the number of students of Italian, from 14.8 per cent of all language students in 1988 to 12.1 per cent in 1990.

Italian is also taught in the TAFE. According to Baker and White (1991) and Baker (1992), Italian was offered at 23 TAFE Colleges around Australia in 1990 (ten in New South Wales, six in Victoria, five in South Australia, one in Western Australia and one in the Australian Capital Territory). In a 1991 survey conducted by Baker and White, Italian ranked fourth by number of classes, after Japanese, French and German. Although this number may look impressive, the attrition rate for Italian, albeit the lowest of all languages taught in the TAFE system, is around 23 per cent. Between 1991 and 1992, with the exception of Queensland and Tasmania, there was an overall marked decrease in the offering of Italian (and other LOTE) in TAFE colleges, particularly in New South Wales and Victoria.

Italian was also offered by various institutions as part of their Continuing Education Program. In this context, the University of Sydney regularly offers four to five courses in Italian. Over the years, the language has enjoyed an overall increase in demand. This was also the case at Macquarie University's Continuing Education where Italian courses have been so successful that they have been included in the formal degree studies of the School of Modern Languages. The University of Queensland and the University of New South Wales offer non-award courses in Italian at various levels at their respective Institute of Languages. At the University of New South Wales Institute of Languages, Italian has gained in popularity and its enrolments have increased over the last few years, making it the second most popular language at the Institute after Japanese.

Other post-school Italian courses are conducted by the Workers Educational Association (WEA) and other bodies supported by the Board of Adult Education. Italian language learning activities are also conducted by various Cultural Institutes, Dante Alighieri Societies and the Italian government, through a system of in-services and scholarships in Italy. At the community and individual level, Italian language classes are organised by Italian and regional clubs, commercial language schools, private tuition, TV language programs, etc. The Language Training Unit of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade trained five of its officers in Italian and examined a further five in 1991-92 at its training unit in Canberra.

6. 5. 8. Japanese

It could be argued that Japanese has a long history in Australia, from the point of view of its actual introduction in the education system, because the Japanese language has been taught in Australia since 1917, when it was introduced at the University of Sydney. It was also available at a number of secondary schools before the Second World War; but it was not until the mid-1960s that Japanese was introduced at a number of Australian universities and secondary schools. As a result, the language was also introduced as a subject for school examinations, including Year 12 examinations. The continuing build-up of Australian-Japanese relations since the Second World War and the strategic importance of the powerful economy of this country to Australia have led to a significant increase in interest in the study of the Japanese language.

Whereas it was a minor foreign language in Australian education in the past, Japanese has rapidly achieved the status of a major language of study at all levels since 1988. Data from DEET show that in 1992, there were 105 000 students of Japanese from primary to tertiary level. As is the case for many of the nine key languages, 95 000 of students enrolled in Japanese, or 90.47 per cent of the total, were in primary and secondary schools. Data from the Japanese report, based on the statistics of the Curriculum Corporation (1992) and summarised in Table 24, suggest that there were 112 055 students enrolled in Japanese at the primary and secondary levels in 1991. This number does not include the figures from New South Wales, one of the States which together with Queensland has considerably expanded its Japanese programs. Whichever of these statistics is a true reflection of enrolments in Japanese, there is no doubt that the language has experienced a spectacular growth at the primary and secondary levels.

While up until the end of the 1980s there were only a few programs in Japanese at the primary school level, the number of schools newly introducing Japanese

increased rapidly to reach a maximum of 23 new programs in 1991. National statistics (Curriculum Corporation, 1992) for enrolments in the language at this level indicate that at least 37 845 pupils (no figures were obtained from New South Wales) were studying Japanese in 1991-92 as shown in Table 24. Japanese is now commonly available in Year 6, the lower levels having fewer programs. Queensland has the highest number of primary school enrolments by far, with over 17 000 pupils or 45 per cent of the national total at this level.

Japanese was introduced at the secondary level in the second half of the 1960s. It expanded in the 1970s and 1980s and has been experiencing a massive increase over the past five years. National statistics for enrolments in Japanese indicate that 74 210 students (again no data obtained from New South Wales) were studying the language in 1991 (Curriculum Corporation, 1992). The enrolment of large numbers of native speakers at the secondary school level does not appear to be a problem, since there are a number of special language courses (eg, intensive course for Years 11 and 12) to cater for their needs. Enrolments in Japanese at the secondary school level are also strongest in Queensland, representing 39 per cent of the national total.

Table 24 also shows that Government schools represent 59.59 per cent of all enrolments in Japanese, followed by Independent schools.

Japanese language programs have a number of sister-school relationships and other exchange arrangements. Of 300 schools surveyed nationwide, 134 (or 45 per cent) are involved in such contacts. These exchanges are particularly important for schools in country districts where native speakers of Japanese are not present, and where the organisation of cultural activities is not possible.

Since the 1960s, several part-time Japanese schools, mainly Saturday schools, have catered for the Japanese community in Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra and Melbourne. These schools are managed by Japanese Societies or Nihonjinkai, with the support of the Japanese Ministry of Education (Mombusho). In the late 1960s, and in the 1970s and 1980s, the Japanese government lent its support to the establishment of full-time Japanese schools in Sydney (1969), Perth (1978) and Melbourne (1986). In 1992, these three schools had enrolments of 404, 39 and 117 students respectively, in both primary and senior high schools. The curricula in these schools are basically identical with those taught in Japan, and the teachers are almost entirely professional school teachers from Japan.

Table 24: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in Japanese by State and Education System in 1991*

Education system/ States	Level	Government schools	Independent schools	Catholic schools	Total
New South Wales	primary	-	-	-	-
	secondary	-	-	-	-
Victoria	primary	6 176	2 561	244	8 981
	secondary	5 692	5 721	2 997	14 410
Queensland	primary	[a] 12 933	3 440	819	17 192
	secondary	[a] 14 418	8 135	6 321	28 874
Western Australia	primary	1 082	916	764	2 762
	secondary	160	2 125	755	3 040
South Australia	primary	2 302	921	-	3 223
	secondary	2 362	1 008	-	3 370
Tasmania	primary	[a] 753	[a] 156	[a] 459	1 368
	secondary	3 109	554	898	4 561
Northern Territory	primary	634	149	51	834
	secondary	278	48	158	484
Australian Capital Territory	primary	1 791	886	808	3 485
	secondary	1 378	1 288	[a] 1 496	4 162
TOTAL		**66 780**	**29 507**	**15 770**	**112 055**

a 1992 figures

There are a number of other providers of Japanese language around Australia. According to Marriott et al. (1993:41-42), the number of private schools of Japanese has mushroomed throughout Australia since 1988. However, it is virtually impossible to undertake an exhaustive survey of such institutions, because many do not respond to requests for information and their number is constantly fluctuating. Enrolments at these schools vary from 6 to 450 students and are concentrated at beginner levels, with very high drop-out rates. The majority of

courses offered consist of one class in the evening which lasts between one and a half to two hours per week over ten to fifteen weeks.

Since 1988, the teaching of Japanese at the tertiary level has experienced a growth which has been much more dramatic than the increase at the primary and secondary levels and which some Japanese scholars have described as a *tsunami* or tidal wave (McCormack 1989). In 1992, Japanese language was taught at 30 tertiary institutions in Australia. This means that in that year, all but six Australian institutions of higher education were offering Japanese. The recent growth in undergraduate enrolments has been boosted by an increase in the number of fee-paying Asian students who choose to study Japanese. A survey of 152 students at first year beginner level showed that 47 per cent of these were drawn from 13 Asian countries or regions (Marriott et al. 1993). Of these, 58 per cent were from mainland China, Hong Kong, Korea, Malaysia and Taiwan. Even though the teaching and learning of Japanese language is not extensive enough in this country to cover the existing demand, Australia has more students of Japanese than any country other than Japan, Korea and China (Kokusai Koryu Kikin 1992:9). According to Leal and al. (1991), it was the most widely studied language other than English in Australian higher education in 1991, with approximately 2 000 EFTSUs at undergraduate and postgraduate levels.

The most dramatic decrease in student numbers at tertiary level is between the third year and fourth (Honours) year. There are few Honours and postgraduate programs in Japanese. Of the national enrolment of 62 students in Honours in 1992, nine institutions had between one and four students, two between six and ten students, and two others fourteen students each. This clearly indicates that the education system may not be able to produce enough graduates with sufficient proficiency to use the language in those vocational and professional situations where a high level of competence is required. This concern has already been expressed in the case of many other key languages (eg, Greek, German, Italian and Indonesian/Malay).

6. 5. 9. Spanish

The history of Spanish language teaching in Australia dates back to 1957, when it was first introduced in Victoria as part of an adult education program. In the 1960s the number of students enrolled in Spanish started to grow, with 361 students in secondary schools in 1969. The majority of these students were in New South Wales (80.33 per cent), Victoria (17.45 per cent) and South Australia (2.21 per cent) (Commonwealth of Australia 1976:41). By 1975, 431 non-English speaking background students were studying Spanish at primary school level and 975

students were enrolled in the language at secondary school level. From 1974 to 1981, the number of students matriculating in Spanish rose from 117 to 218 (Hawley 1982:86). This increase continued into the late 1980s as Spanish matriculation jumped to 307 students at the national level in 1986 and as the number rose by 40 per cent between 1983 and 1988. This increase was partly due to the migration of Spanish-speaking people to Australia. From 5253 students in 1988, the number of students taking Spanish has increased to nearly 10 000 in 1992. According to DEET records (DEET 1988:3 and 6-7), most students enrolled in Spanish at primary and secondary school levels were in Government schools (a combined total of 6321 students in primary and secondary schools), followed by Catholic and Independent schools (1779 and 486 respectively - see Table 25).

Table 25: *Students enrolled in Spanish in Primary and Secondary Schools at National Level in 1988.*

Student No.s	Government Schools	Catholic Schools	Independent Schools	Total
Primary	3 823	976	454	5 253
Secondary	2 498	803	32	3 333

There has been a parallel increase in the number of schools and institutions offering Spanish courses. As a result, Spanish language programs are now available in all States (except Western Australia) and education systems. There are many more students enrolled in the language at the primary school level (81.73 per cent) than at the secondary school level (only 18.26 per cent). At the primary level, Spanish is best represented in Queensland (38.20 per cent), Victoria (25.03 per cent) and New South Wales (22.64 per cent) respectively. Table 26 suggests that, while student enrolments increased at the primary school level between 1988 and 1991 (from 5253 to 7958 students), student numbers at secondary school level have decreased from 3333 students in 1988 to only 1778 in 1991.

It is important to point out that the data on the teaching/learning of Spanish are incomplete. The figures obtained from some States (eg, New South Wales) were only for one education system. In many more cases, the relevant data are simply not available (eg, Queensland and South Australia) or are underestimated. In addition, the figures for the number of secondary school students in Tasmania and the Northern Territory are 1990 figures, not 1991 figures. Table 26 is therefore no more than an indication.

Table 26: *Combined Total of Primary and Secondary Students enrolled in Spanish in 1990-1991*

State/ Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	ACT	TOTAL
primary	[a] 1 802	1 992	3 040	-	126	-	23	[a] 97	[illegible]
secondary	[b] 703	797	[illegible]	-	[a] 63	[c] 118	12	[a] 1-	1 778

a. Figure for Government schools only
b. Figure for Catholic schools only
c. 1990 figure.

Spanish is also 'grossly under-represented in higher education' (Va[illegible]rde 1994). While there were 104 students enrolled in Spanish language progra[illegible] at tertiary institutions in the early 1970s (Working Party 1976:13), this number[illegible]creased to 135 students in 1973 and 428 students in 1974-75 (Hawley 1982:35). E[illegible]olments in Spanish at the tertiary level increased slightly in 1980-81 to 502 stude[illegible] (Hawley 1982:55). By 1988, the number of students completing at least one un[illegible] of Spanish in higher education had reached 882. In 1990, Spanish was offered [illegible] tertiary institutions and ranked as the sixth most popular language at this le[illegible] with 425 EFTSUs (Leal et al. 1991:66). The majority of institutions that teach[illegible] are located in New South Wales (154.27 EFTSUs), followed by Victoria (13[illegible] and South Australia (95.71 EFTSUs). Numbers in Queensland, Weste[illegible] the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory are ve[illegible] study of Spanish in Australian universities has been limited to [illegible] courses. Only a very small number of tertiary institutions (mo[illegible] universities) offer vocationally oriented courses.

Spanish is offered at 16 TAFE Colleges around Australia. It is also o[illegible] of the Continuing Education Programs of many universities and [illegible] through a number of other providers, such as the New South Wale[illegible] School (previously known as Correspondence School) and the New[illegible] Saturday School. New South Wales has a strong Spanish progra[illegible] Schools with an estimated 744 students in 1991. In Victoria, the Vic[illegible] of Languages program also offers Spanish. In 1991, 695 primary a[illegible] school students attended the Spanish courses. According to DEET re[illegible] there were 11 ethnic schools teaching Spanish in New South W[illegible] students, five in Victoria with 471 students, one in the Australian Ca[illegible] with 85 students and two each in Queensland and South Australia, [illegible] 35 students respectively.

6. 6. Summary

The foregoing overview of the quantitative data of the nine key languages suggests a number of considerations, some of which have already been raised. The first of these is the lack of empirical data or the difficulty of gathering data in many cases

143

The attrition rate in the number of tertiary students enrolled in LOTE is also an important issue, for most of the nine key languages (ie, Japanese, Chinese, Modern Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian and Spanish). The number of Honours and postgraduate students in these languages is small and raises the crucial issue of the number of university graduates with language skills to fill positions in professions where they are most needed (eg, teaching, tour guiding, etc). Thus, careful attention must be paid to the reasons why such a high proportion of students choose to discontinue the study of a LOTE (see Section 6.8.0).

Some have attributed the decline in the number of students learning LOTE to the removal of these languages from the core curriculum in schools and from the matriculation requirements for entry into higher education, and have called for the study of languages and cultures to be made a normal part of the educational experience of all Australians (Di Biase et al. 1994; Valverde 1994; Smith et al. 1995). There is no doubt that the status of language study within the curriculum has an effect on the present situation. However, contrary to a recommendation made by some of the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages*, Nicholas et al. argue against the re-introduction of language requirements. Nicholas et al. believe that such a move could upset an environment where 'the liberty of choice and the encouragement and reward of effort are entrenched' (Nicholas et al. 1995:309-310). Instead, they advocate flexible entry points to tertiary courses in all subjects, an integration of [illegible]

6.7 The Nine Key Languages in Australian Education: Qualitative Data

The decline or growth in the teaching/learning of a LOTE, the attrition rate and other problems are the result of a complex interplay of organisational, structural, pedagogical and financial factors. Therefore, to be complete, an analysis and interpretation of the quantitative data need to be done within the context of such factors. The following section is a summary of the most significant qualitative issues raised in the majority of the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages*. These issues touch upon a number of concerns: (1) the transition problem between primary and post-primary language study, (2) materials and resources necessary for the provision and delivery of LOTE, (3) methodologies used in the teaching of LOTE,

and (4) issues of teacher qualifications, teacher training and teacher supply[30]. The materials found in this section are substantially based on the work of the authors of the nine profiles of the Languages of Wide Teaching (see Campbell et al. 1993, Cryle et al. 1993, Di Biase et al. 1994, Fernandez et al. 1993, Marriott et al. 1993, Smith et al. 1993, Tamis and Gauntlett 1993, Valverde 1994 and Worsley 1993).

6.7.1 The transition problem

One of the first issues raised in the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* is that of the problems associated with the poor linkage between primary and post-primary schools and between the secondary school level and the tertiary level, with regard to language study. In other words, children studying a language at primary school or students enrolled in a given language at secondary school level are often unable to continue the same language at high school or at university. In some cases, children or students were practically expected to forget all they had learnt in one language when undertaking a new one. It is argued that this lack of natural progression between levels is detrimental to the acquisition of and proficiency in a LOTE, a process which by its very nature is a cumulative one. The failure to build upon students' previous experience in the language is not only negative for them, but contributes to the high attrition rate in student numbers undertaking the study of a LOTE. Therefore the transition problem has an impact on the general

6.7.2 Materials and resources

Another ongoing problem is associated with the [illegible] of the availability, quality and relevance of LOTE materials and resources for both language teachers and learners. While it was noted that some languages such as French, German, Italian and Japanese have a wide range of materials and resources, this is not the case for many others, especially at the primary school level (eg. Arabic, Indonesian / Malay, Modern Greek and Spanish). Even for those languages that do have enough commercially available texts at this level, the problem still exists at the advanced level of language instruction where most teachers have to develop their own materials. Audio-visual materials suitable for language teaching are also difficult to find for a number of languages (eg. Arabic, Indonesian / Malay, Modern Greek and Spanish).

30 The reader is encouraged to refer to the Nicholas et al. report (1993) for a comprehensive analysis of the complex issues pertaining to teacher qualification, teacher training and teacher supply.

The paucity of materials and resources is compounded by the fact that most textbooks available in Australia are produced overseas. Needless to say, these textbooks are not suitable for the Australian context and need to be adapted and supplemented by teachers (see for example Arabic, Modern Greek and Spanish textbooks).

Another area that is not adequately covered in the materials and resources currently available is the cultural content. Many of the *Profiles* suggest that there is a need to present the culture and history of the country (or countries) where the language is spoken as well as the culture, history, social and linguistic realities of the community which speaks that language in Australia, where this applies (eg, German, Italian and Spanish). This issue is particularly relevant at the tertiary level where the language is essentially taught as a foreign language and focuses on aspects of a learned nature.

Positive steps are already being taken at the Commonwealth and State levels to address this issue. As pointed out in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.4) and at the beginning of this Chapter (see Section 6.3.1), the AEC's CURASS circulated a formal consultation draft on curriculum development for Australian schools in 1992 (viz, the *National Statement on Languages Other than English (LOTE)*) with a view to developing what is believed to be the central goal of language learning: ie, the development of communicative competence. CURASS also released a consultation draft of *The National LOTE Profile* in February 1993 in order to provide an agreed framework for LOTE teachers to describe the achievements of learners from Years 1 to 12 in terms which will be understood across Australia. The aim of these documents is to serve as the basis of a National Curriculum Resource for teachers and curriculum writers. Education systems, schools and teachers would be able to use the National Curriculum Resource when designing courses for the training of teachers of LOTE.

Another example of the national collaborative effort to solve the problem of materials and resources is the National Chinese Curriculum Project. This project began work to provide three teachers' books, one each for primary, junior middle secondary (stages 1 and 2) and senior secondary (stages 3 and 4). There are also students' books for primary (stages 1, 2, 3 and 4) as well as a set of general resources. The Curriculum will include audio tapes of authentic speech produced by teenagers presenting stories, reading poems and rhymes for primary schools, and dialogues and announcements for the older age groups. Furthermore, there are three national projects funded by DEET under the ILOTE scheme - one in New South Wales and two in Victoria - whose aim is to create innovative teaching materials in Spanish. The first of these projects, which is being carried out at the

University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, will produce audio-visual material for Years 4-8. The second project, carried out at La Trobe University, will produce three books with accompanying cassettes for levels 5-10. The third project, which is being implemented at the Victorian School of Languages, will focus on the provision of distance education with special emphasis on distance learning methods.

Ethnic communities and language professionals also contribute to this national effort. The Canberra CIAC for instance has published a guide to help teachers of Italian choose among a wide variety of materials and resources that have become available in Australia at primary, secondary and tertiary levels (Di Biase et al. 1994). In the case of Japanese, several institutions are involved in curriculum development, in the production or publication of textbooks or learning materials, in research into language learning and teaching, in holding language teaching seminars, in developing computer-aided learning materials and other technological innovations across Australia (Marriott et al. 1993).

At the State level, several important curriculum development projects have been initiated in the context of State language policies. In Queensland for instance, the Department of Education and the Languages and Cultures Unit (LACU) have developed and produced a set of materials for Chinese study in the primary schools as part of its Primary LOTE Kits, in order to support the progressive implementation of Chinese into Year 6 and 7. A promotional package was produced in 1991 and materials for Years 7 and 8 were published at the end of 1992. In South Australia, the Institute of Languages has produced a handbook entitled *Asian Languages Teaching Handbook*, which provides practical, classroom-oriented advice to beginning teachers of three Asian languages including Chinese. In Victoria, primary school teachers will soon have access to centrally-produced materials for the teaching of Italian (*Arcobaleno* from preparatory to Grade 2 and *In Compagnia* from Grade 3 to Year 7). In New South Wales, a Generic Framework for all LOTE is currently being developed within the ALL Guidelines and the Learning Materials Production Centre has been planning, designing and developing resources and teaching texts to fulfil the requirement of the HSC in Spanish for the 2/3 Unit Syllabus.

6. 7. 3. LOTE Teaching Methodologies

The concerns raised with regard to LOTE teaching methodologies are two-fold. The first has to do with the lack of basic training in language teaching methodology for a number of LOTE teachers. Marriott et al. (1993) report that there is a need for more training in language teaching methodology as well as language specific

methodology during the initial training of teachers and later. In a survey conducted by the Chinese research team (see Smith et al. 1993), many of the 85 per cent of the respondents who claimed to have received some form of LOTE methodology in their pre-service training also said that they were dissatisfied with this training, because it was not specifically related to Chinese language teaching methodology. The lack of training in language teaching methodology is believed to be much more acute in ethnic schools. Leal et al. (1991) also point out that there is little incentive or provision for tertiary teachers to upgrade their teaching skills or methodology.

The second aspect of LOTE teaching methodology concerns the lack of continuity in methodology from primary to post-primary level. While at primary school level there tends to be little if any attention accorded to precise grammatical structures, greater attention is sometimes focused on overt grammatical rules at secondary school and tertiary levels. This difference in approach points to the need to have some degree of cross-fertilisation in the teaching methodologies used. Such cross-fertilisation would benefit both students and teachers at all levels of instruction. There is no doubt that, to be effective, language teachers should not only have a good language proficiency, but also a strong background in second and foreign language teaching methodologies grounded in the psycholinguistics of first and second language acquisition.

Formal and informal survey reports in the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* point to a gradual shift from the grammar-translation teaching methodology to the audio-lingual and the post-audio-lingual teaching methodologies, especially at the tertiary level. Many language programs are believed to have undergone substantial qualitative changes in this respect over the last two decades, and most teachers now claim to use 'functional/notional', 'communicative' or 'eclectic' teaching methodologies.

6. 7. 4. Teacher Qualifications, Training and Supply

While, at the tertiary level, a large proportion of teachers of languages such as Chinese and Japanese are L1[11] speakers of the language - in part because it has been difficult to find competent L2 speakers in the past - the other Languages of Wider Teaching, perhaps with the exception of Modern Greek (which is reported to have an oversupply of qualified teachers in Victoria), report a general lack of qualified teachers. The recent expansion of programs in languages such as Chinese and Japanese has made this shortage even more serious as it has become difficult to fill teaching positions in these languages with either native or non-native speakers, especially at the tertiary level.

11 An L1 or first language speaker is someone with native or near native communicative skills in a language, while an L2 or second language speaker is someone who is learning the language as an additional language to the L1

The capacity of some language units is said to be stretched to the limit as a result of the rapid growth of enrolments. The increase in student numbers has led to problems connected with staffing budgets, teacher/student ratios and the teaching load of staff. In the case of Japanese, for example, 17 tertiary institutions use sessionals to staff up to 25 per cent of their teaching hours, another four use casuals for between 25 to 50 per cent of their teaching hour requirements and two use over 50 per cent of casual staff (Marriott et al. 1993:74). According to Di Biase et al. (1994:111), the teacher/student ratio for Italian classes in New South Wales is unfavourable, with 214.5 students to one teacher, across education systems at the primary and secondary levels. Needless to say, these problems affect the quality of teaching and research. Worse yet, all the indications are that, in view of the commitment of both Commonwealth and States/Territories to their LOTE policies, the number of students enrolling in a LOTE is set to increase in the coming decades, especially at the primary school level. It has been pointed out for instance that, in spite of the growth in student numbers enrolled in Italian, there are no primary school language teachers being trained in that language and only a handful are being trained for the secondary school level.

Moreover, Nicholas et al. found that, in all States, there is a significant proportion of teachers whose proficiency in the language is inadequate to cope with the demands of delivering quality language programs. A survey conducted by these authors shows that teachers of a number of languages consistently rate their proficiency in all of the four macro skills as quite low (Nicholas et al. 1993:192). Hence, Nicholas et al. note that:

> ... the findings presented do not suggest that language teachers are not competent. They indicate a statement by the profession that the level of language instruction available to them and the opportunities for language refresher and upgrading courses are less than what they need to do what they consider the best possible job (Nicholas et al. 1993:196).

The emphasis, therefore, needs to be placed on teacher training. Specialist pre-service training, preferably in the language of instruction, is necessary. It will provide the opportunity for primary and post-primary language teachers to increase their language competence and their skills in curriculum and material designs.

It is also argued that the virtual non-existence of in-country training and inadequate contact hours have an effect on the language proficiency of university graduates and language teachers. According to a survey conducted by Marriott et al. (1993), the confidence of Japanese language teachers correlated highly with the length of time spent in Japan or the amount of contact with Japan. The teachers who have

spent an average of six months in Japan are fairly confident, while those who have spent a longer time in the country have the highest confidence. The value and importance of experience in countries where the target language is spoken was also raised in several areas of the Leal report. The authors of this report argue that:

> It is of fundamental importance that every encouragement be given to both students and staff to spend as much time as possible in the country(ies) where the target language is spoken. As soon as practicable the training of language professionals, particularly in the areas of teaching and translating/interpreting, should include a period of residence in the target language country(ies) as a requirement for graduation. For this policy to be implemented in an efficient and equitable way, a more extensive system of scholarships, temporary employment, work experience and subsidised travel would need to be put in place on a basis similar to that which exists in many overseas countries (Leal et al. 1991:180; also see Recommendation 35 in Leal et al. 1991:181).

Leal et al. believe that the attendant cost to institutions and students could be the main obstacle to the widespread adoption of in-country study (Leal et al. 1991:127, 129-30). Nevertheless, many of the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* call for the adoption and integration of in-country study in the curriculum. In fact, many institutions have taken steps to organise such programs and make it possible for their students to take advantage of the opportunities thus created.

Hence several universities have made formal arrangements with universities overseas or are in the process of establishing such links. In-country study is encouraged by nearly all institutions teaching Japanese at the tertiary level. The majority of these institutions have formal or informal exchange arrangements or in-country programs that allow their students to study in Japan. Although all costs of study in Japan are borne by the students in most cases, a small number of institutions have access to scholarship funding from various Australian or Japanese sources. Hence Monash University has been organising a six-month in-country study program for its Honours students at its Monash Japanese Centre in Tokyo over the last 20 years. Many other institutions such as Griffith University, the University of Queensland, the University of Sydney and La Trobe University also have in-country study programs of varying length. In 1992, for example, a new scheme was implemented by the Australian National University for a year in-country for undergraduates. A group of 15 students who had completed second year Japanese was placed at Japanese universities where they studied Japanese language courses as well as a few other courses, and completed a project. Another example is that of the University of Wollongong which organised a summer

program in Japan for students between first and second year. Together with other universities such as Edith Cowan University it is planning the implementation of a year-abroad scheme which will lengthen the undergraduate course by one year. An organisation called the Australian Universities Centre in Japan has been established to coordinate some aspects of these programs conducted by individual institutions

In-country study is not available in Japanese programs alone. La Trobe University offers a one year course funded by the International Development of Australian Universities and Colleges at the East China Normal University in mainland China. Murdoch University has also initiated a government funded 'Asian language year' of in-country study. This program is on offer to a consortium of universities. The University of Queensland has introduced an optional three-month stay in Germany in its four-semester Business German course. The course includes one month that is to be spent at the Carl Duisberg Centre (CDC) and a two-month placement in a German company. The German Department of the university offers some financial support to students undertaking this element of the course. Successful completion of the course leads to an internationally recognised certificate, the Prüfung Wirtschftsdeutsch International. At the time of writing, the University of Queensland was awaiting accreditation for a BA course in German that would include compulsory in-country experience or equivalent

Providing for an adequate supply of LOTE teachers in schools across the country with high levels of proficiency, in-country experience, familiarity with the latest methods of practical language teaching and comfortable with an increasingly sophisticated technology is not an easy task. Nevertheless, the initiatives described above are some good examples of the measures that are being put in place in order to address these issues.

6. 8 Students' Attitudes to LOTE

One should always ask why students chose to learn a given language in order to be able to better cater for their needs. In other words, it helps teachers, students and the community at large to be aware of the incentives and disincentives that make students continue or discontinue the study of a LOTE. This section presents a summary of the results of the nationwide language attitude survey of Year 11 students carried out as part of the research for the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages*

6. 8. 1. Design and Administration of the Attitudinal Survey

The questionnaire was designed by a sub-committee composed of Dr Boshra El Guindy, Dr Tony Liddicoat, Professor Jiri Neustupny, Dr Ng Bee Chin, Dr Anne

Pauwels and Mr Steven Petrou. There were four main aspects of the questionnaire.

1. Questions 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 12 and 16 aimed at recording background information on the students who undertake language courses. The questions related to their gender, country of birth, other subjects studied, socio-economic status and general career or educational aspirations
2. The aim of the second aspect of the questionnaire (Questions 4, 5, 13 and 17) was to find out about the students' language background(s) and their own evaluation of their LOTE skills
3. The third aspect (Question 10 and 14) focused on the reasons why students who had studied a language at Year 10 had discontinued it at Year 11. The students were supplied with a number of possible reasons for discontinuing ranging from factors inherent to the language (eg, the language was too difficult) to factors external to the language (eg, timetable clashes)
4. The aim of the fourth aspect of the questionnaire (Q11 and 15) was to find out why students continued the study of a language up to Year 11. Again, a list of 15 responses was provided ranging from instrumental (responses 4, 5, 9, and 10) to integrative reasons (responses 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 11). Other responses related to external factors, such as peer group or parental pressure and the role of teachers, were also included.

These questions were repeated for students who studied more than one language at Year 10. The aims of the questionnaire were:

1. to obtain a profile of Year 11 students who had studied a LOTE up to Year 10 or who were studying one or more LOTE in Year 11, and
2. to explore the reasons and/or motivations for continuing or discontinuing the study of a LOTE.

The ideal data gathering procedure would have been a random sampling of all Year 11 students in schools that taught a LOTE. However, time and budgetary constraints precluded such random sampling. Instead, each language research group selected a number of schools which offered their language across the Government, Independent and Catholic school systems. A letter requesting permission to conduct the study was sent to each nominated school and the questionnaires were sent to those schools which agreed to be surveyed.

The attitudinal surveys were administered to 70 selected secondary schools in all States and Territories. The surveys for the nine languages were then collected and processed by the Research Area of Social Sciences at La Trobe University using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The statistical analysis was done by Dr Robert Powell and Mr Michael Day.

6. 8. 2. Results of the Attitudinal Survey

The results of the survey were cross-tabulated against four main variables. These variables are:

1. States and Territories
2. Types of schools (Government, Independent and Catholic schools)
3. Sex
4. Language background

Only those aspects of the cross-tabulations that are significant will be reported and commented on in this section.

A total of 2320 attitudinal surveys for the nine languages were returned from the 70 schools selected. Of these, 2145 or 92.46 per cent were valid. The majority of respondents were from New South Wales (38.1 per cent) and Victoria (30 per cent). Responses from Queensland represented 18 per cent of the sample, and those from Western Australia and South Australia represented 11 per cent and 2.8 per cent respectively (see Table 27). Tasmania, the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory were not represented in the sample.

Table 27: *Percentage of respondents per State*

States	Total Percentages
New South Wales	38.1%
Victoria	30%
Queensland	18%
Western Australia	11%
South Australia	2.8%
Total	100%

Table 28: *Percentage of Respondents per Education System*

Education system	Total Percentage
Government schools	49.1%
Catholic schools	13.7%
Independent schools	37.2%
Total	100%

Almost half of the respondents (49.1 per cent) were studying in Government schools. Independent schools represented slightly over a third of the sample (37.2 per cent), and Catholic schools represented only 13.7 per cent of the sample (see Table 28).

Table 29 shows the number of students per language. Out of the total of respondents, 648 or 27.93 per cent represented students enrolled in French, while only 67 or 2.89 per cent and 46 or 1.98 per cent were enrolled in Arabic and Spanish respectively. This suggests that, while some languages such as French, Chinese and German were well represented in the sample, others were under-represented; especially Arabic and Spanish.

Table 29: *Number of Students per Language*

Languages	Number of Students	Percentage of Total
Arabic	67	2.89%
Chinese	359	15.47%
French	648	27.93%
German	309	13.32%
Modern Greek	210	9.05%
Indonesian/Malay	158	6.81%
Italian	253	10.91%
Japanese	270	11.64%
Spanish	46	1.98%
Total	2 320	100%

A slight majority of the respondents were males (53.1 per cent as against 46.9 per cent of females). This gender distribution does not agree with the commonly held view according to which girls constitute the majority of language learners in Australia.

Another interesting feature of the sample is that, while 74 per cent of the sample were born in Australia and 26 per cent were born overseas, only 9 per cent of the latter were born in countries of European ancestry. Almost half (ie, 49.8 per cent) of the respondents reported speaking a LOTE at home. This suggests a good rate of language maintenance within LOTE communities.

A look at the parents' education level shows that the students in the sample have a strong middle class socio-economic background. Over a third of parents have at least an undergraduate degree (see Table 30).

Table 30: *Parents Education level*

Parents' Education level	Father	Mother
Primary	10.7%	10.5%
Post-primary	25%	28%
Year 12	19.8%	25%
Undergraduate degree	17.3%	16.3%
Postgraduate degree	23.5%	16%

Out of the 2145 valid questionnaires only 1028 students or 48 per cent of the sample were still studying a language at the time of the survey (ie, in Year 11). In other words, marginally more students (some 1117 or 52.07 per cent of the sample) discontinued the study of a LOTE in Year 11. Furthermore, while the overwhelming majority of respondents intend to attend a tertiary education institution (80.4 per cent, or 87.6 per cent when those who plan to study at TAFE are added), only 25.2 per cent (or 28.6 per cent including TAFE) intend to include the study of a LOTE in their tertiary program (see Table 31).

Table 31: *Intended Level of Study*

Intended level of study	General	Language Only
Year 12	10.4%	61.8%
TAFE	7.2%	3.4%
Tertiary Institution	80.4%	25.2%

As pointed out in Section 6.3.5 above, one of the aims of this survey was to find out students' reasons and/or motivations for continuing or discontinuing the study of a LOTE. According to the results summarised in Table 32, the students in this sample who discontinued the study of a LOTE did so because they 'considered other subjects more important' (45 per cent of responses). This reason turned out to be the most important for those who were studying the language as L1 and those who were studying it as L2. This result correlates well with what many of the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* refer to as 'the long-term neglect of LOTE in the education system'. The second most important reason is difficult to pinpoint. The statement labelled 'other reasons' attracted 38.1 per cent of the responses. However, this statement is not specific and one can hardly speculate on what it meant to the

respondents. The third reason, chosen by 35.4 per cent of the respondents, suggests that language study is considered 'too difficult'. This response also correlates with the Australian community's long held perception that foreign language study is the reserve of extremely bright students.

Table 32: *Reasons for discontinuing the study of a LOTE* [a]

Reasons for discontinuing	L1	L2	Total %
I do not like languages	8.8%	5.0%	13.8%
There were too many native speakers	4.5%	5.4%	9.9%
The subject was too difficult	17.5%	17.9%	35.4%
My friends did not take this language	2.2%	1.7%	3.9%
I did not like the teacher	11.9%	9.1%	21%
Other reasons	20.2%	17.9%	38.1%
The language was not available	1.6%	3.5%	5.1%
I considered other subjects more important	22.3%	22.9%	45%
There were timetable clashes	5.6%	7.8%	13.4%

a. Multiple responses were possible.

The majority of the respondents who continued with the stud
11 indicated that they did so because, although they did not
plans for the future, they felt that the language would enhanc
prospects. Hence, a total of 65.1 per cent of the sample gave s
a rating of 4 or 5. The second most important reason given
study of a LOTE was statement number 6: 'I like studyin
statement received 58.1 per cent of approval. Other two reaso
perceived as being 'very important' were those expressed in s
'I have had good marks in the past', which attracted 55 per cen
and statement number 11: 'I want to travel or live in the country
is spoken', which received 50.8 per cent of the positive re
number 7: 'I like studying the culture and society where the l
was also perceived as a very important reason. It received
positive responses (see Table 33).

of a LOTE in Year
have any definite
their future career
atement number 9
for continuing the
languages'. This
ns the respondents
atement number 5.
of their responses,
where the language
ponses. Statement
nguage is spoken'
5.8 per cent of the

Table 33: *Reasons for continuing with the study of LOTE in Year 11* [a]

Reasons for continuing	Not Important 1	2	Imp't 3	4	Very Important 5
1. Ethnic origin and/or religion	47.7%	7.9%	15%	14%	15.4%
2. Contact with the ethnic community in Australia	40.1%	14.4%	19.9%	15%	10.6%
3. Other contact with the country where the language is spoken	18.5%	15.1%	22.3%	25%	19.1%
4. I thought this would be an easy subject for me	29.5%	17.4%	22.5%	18.8%	11.7%
5. I have had good marks in the past	9.6%	9.6%	25.9%	30.2%	24.8%
6. I like studying languages	8.2%	9.9%	23.8%	30.9%	27.2%
7. I like studying about the culture	10.5%	15.3%	28.4%	27%	18.8%
8. I particularly like the teacher	30.8%	17.5%	20.8%	14.5%	7.4%
9. I do not have definite plans for my future but I feel the language would enhance my future career	7.4%	7.6%	19.8%	34.2%	30.9%
10. I have definite plans to work in an area of employment where the language is used	22.6%	21.6%	26.1%	17.8%	11.9%
11. I want to travel or live in the country	13.5%	11.4%	24.2%	27.6%	23.2%
12. I have been advised to continue by my family	27.9%	16.8%	24.8%	18.7%	11.8%
13. I have been advised to continue by my teachers	33.4%	18.3%	24.9%	16.7%	6.7%
14. One or more of my friends was taking the subject	57.9%	17.4%	12.5%	8%	4.3%
15. Although I had a strong desire to continue, other subjects were more important.	57.6%	14.8%	15%	8.5%	4.2%

a Multiple responses were possible

6.9 Summary

The results of this attitudinal survey point to two main conclusions. First, they suggest that it is important to provide balanced language programs with the emphasis on practical as well as cultural and intellectual benefits of language

learning. A closer analysis of the reasons why students continued with the study of a LOTE in Year 11 suggests that they have a mix of both integrative (statements 6, 7, and 11) and instrumental (statements 5 and 9) motivations. Language studies should therefore take into account not only the economic aims (instrumental motivation), but also the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic aims (integrative motivation). Secondly, the results of the survey show that the attrition rate between Year 10 and 11 (52.07 per cent) is very high. Of more serious concern is the low percentage (28.6 per cent) of the sample who intend to include a LOTE in their tertiary program. Should this trend be confirmed in future enrolments in LOTE at tertiary level, it will be very difficult indeed to maintain the current levels of provision in the nine key languages. This possibility underscores the importance of combining degrees with LOTE study at the tertiary level and developing professional courses with a strong component of LOTE to cater for the diversified needs and interests of students.

Conclusion

The debate over multiculturalism and multilingualism and an emergent national language policy has been an important social issue in Australia since the mid-1970s. As one might have predicted then, English has increasingly become the language of international communication, but ironically languages other than English have also increased in importance. Australians now realise that they can no longer rely upon special relationships with the United Kingdom and the United States of America to guarantee Australia's national security and economic prosperity. Australia's future lies with the rest of the world, not in isolation from it (Worsley 1993). This realisation is due in part to the significant role which multiculturalism came to play in determining Australian identity during the 1970s and 1980s and, more recently, to concern about the declining prosperity of the Australian economy.

In recent years, all Australian Governments have tried to reflect these concerns in their language policies and the last decade has witnessed a spate of government reports and policies at both the Commonwealth and State/Territory levels. The most impressive evidence of the impact of these policies has been the vast expansion in the number of languages available for study in Australian schools and universities. In 1988, 54 LOTE's were taught in primary and secondary schools (including 14 Aboriginal languages) (DEET 1988:3) and in 1990, 36 were offered in institutions of higher education (Leal et al. 1991:59). As a result, Australia has developed a world wide reputation for language policy development and is 'seen as a clever country and a humane one at the same time' in this area (Clyne 1991b:20). The summary of the language policy context since 1987 provided in Chapters 1 and 2 of this book shows that this is a well earned reputation.

The ongoing commitment to language policy at the national level was further demonstrated in the 1994 Federal Budget when $48 million were allocated to Asian language education over four years - including six million dollars in 1994-95, $13.8 million in 1995-96, $17.2 million in 1996-97 and $20.2 million in 1997-98 - to help strengthen cultural and business links with the region, increase the numbers and training of Asian language teachers and develop national proficiency levels. An additional grant was also announced by the Minister for Schools, Vocational Education and Training. The $8.9 million grant will be spent over two years to assist young children, particularly Kindergarten to Year 3 students from disadvantaged backgrounds, in gaining literacy and numeracy skills.

However, an examination of the results of language policies and language attitudes to LOTE over the last decade suggests that much remains to be done. Several issues need to be resolved at the implementation level for these language policies to achieve their goals. Some of the critical issues that have been identified in the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* are:

1. The shortage of language teachers, especially at primary school level
2. The shortage of teachers in languages such as Japanese, Modern Greek and Italian at tertiary level
3. The lack of appropriate pre-service and in-service training
4. The limited training of LOTE teachers in language teaching methodologies (especially at tertiary level)
5. Teachers' dissatisfaction with their proficiency levels in the language(s) they teach
6. The transition problem from primary to post-primary
7. The shortage of adequate language materials and resources
8. Students' limited exposure to the LOTE they study and the related issue of in-country training.

At a different level, many students studying a second language do not intend to include a LOTE in their tertiary education program. This is a worrying sign, given the already high attrition rate in the study of LOTE between Year 10 and Year 11 as shown in Section 6.8.0. Also critical in this situation is the attitude of Australian business people who remain generally dismissive of the importance of language skills to Australia's export capabilities.

Nevertheless, the present position of the nine key languages in Australian education is a relatively strong and healthy one. The teaching and learning of LOTEs have made important gains in the period between 1987 and 1992. The *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* suggest a resurgence in numbers of students in most languages, especially at primary school level. There is also a renewed endeavour at all levels to prepare materials for teaching languages in schools and universities.

The *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* presented in Chapter 6 of this book have some methodological limitations and can only provide an overview of the issues which are described in more detail in the individual reports. Nevertheless, the Profiles have a role to play in LOTE provision. They can help Australia move beyond well-intentioned language policy pronouncements into a more mature phase in the decision-making process where the implementation of national language policy

in general and language-in-education policy in particular are based on informed decisions. In this sense, the *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* represent more than a review of the state of play of these languages. The empirical data they provide (ie, the quantitative and qualitative data that positively or negatively affect the teaching and learning of LOTE) will be useful in trying to put together an effective plan to meet Australia's language needs.

The process of achieving the goal of the educational spread of LOTEs in Australian schools and universities is not one which will be easily managed nor is it governed by reason or by economics alone. As we have argued in this book (see Chapters 4 and 5), other powerful factors are involved in language policy making. Hence, the neglect of the cultural and wider educational foundations of the study of languages can result in a backlash.

Finally, it is important that the situation of LOTEs in Australian education be monitored at regular intervals. In this enterprise, there is need for more than just the gathering of numbers of students. The factors which cause particular cohorts of students to (dis)continue the study of a LOTE from one level of education to another need to be closely analysed and strategies designed to encourage the study of LOTE in Australian education. The *Profiles of Nine Key Languages* represent a major step in this direction.

Selected References

Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education (AACLAME) 1990 *The National Policy on Languages: December 1987-March 1990.* Report to the Minister for Employment, Education and Training by the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education, May 1990.

Adams, K. L. and Brink, D. T. (eds) 1990 *Perspectives on Official English: The Campaign for English as the Official Language of the USA.* Mouton de Gruyter: New York.

Ammon, U. 1991 *Die Internationale Stellung der deutschen Sprache.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Annamalai, E. , Jernudd, B. H. and Rubin, J. (eds) 1986 *Language Planning. Proceedings of an Institute.* Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages (Co-sponsored by the Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center).

Asian Studies Council 1989 *Asia in Australian Higher Education.* A report of the Inquiry into the Teaching of Asian Studies and Languages in Higher Education. Canberra: AGPS.

Auchmuty, J. 1971 *Teaching of Asian Languages and Cultures in Australia.* Canberra. AGPS.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993a *Australia in Profile: 1991 Census.* ABS Catalogue No. 2821.0. Victoria: AGPS.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993b *Basic Community Profile.* ABS Catalogue No. 2722.0. Victoria: AGPS.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1991 *Exports and imports of Australia.* Canberra: AGPS.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1986 *Census of Population and Housing.* Canberra. AGPS.

Australian Campus Review Weekly 1991 Anger over SACE move to limit foreign languages. August 22-28, p. 4.

Australian Capital Territory Department of Education 1990 *Languages other than English in ACT Government schools 1990-2000.* Canberra: ACT Department of Education.

Australian Education Council: Curriculum and Assessment Committee 1992 *National Statement on Languages Other Than English (LOTE)*. Formal Consultation Draft. October 1992.

Australian Language and Literacy Council 1994 *Speaking of Bus... Business and Industry for Language Skills*. Canberra: AGPS.

Baker, B. 1992 *LOTE Taught in Australia's TAFE Colleges* (Term 4... 1992). Brisbane: NLLIA/LATTICE (mimeo).

Baker, B. and White, P. 1991 *Survey of languages other than E... report*. St Lucia, University of Queensland, NLLIA/LATTICE.

Baker, M., Robertson, F. and Sloan, J. 1993 *The role of immigratio... higher education labour market*. Bureau of Immigration and Res... AGPS.

Baldauf, Jr, R. B. 1990 Australia's National Language Policy: L... Language-in-Education Implementation. In Bickley, V. (ed.) *Langu... Teaching and the Curriculum*. Hong Kong Institute of Langua... Education Department, pp. 73-87.

Baldauf, Jr, R. B. and Luke, A. (eds) 1990 *Language Planning... Australasia and the South Pacific*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matter...

Barnard, M. 1963 *A History of Australia*. London: Angus and R...

Bita, N. 1993a Officials reject literacy criticism. *The Australian*, ...

Bita, N. 1993b Literacy plan for adults 'a disaster'. *The Australia...*

Board of Studies 1991 *Curriculum Requirements for New South W... Schools*. North Sydney.

Board of Teacher Registration 1992 *Teaching of Languages O... Other English: Implications for Teacher Education and Teacher Registration*. Toov... Conference Proceedings, Board of Teacher Registration.

Bourhis, R. (ed.) 1994 *French-English Language Issues in Canada*... of *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. Berlin: Mou...

Braddy, P. 1991 *Languages other than English: A statement f... the Minister*. Queensland Department of Education.

Breton, R. 1991 Géographie du plurilinguisme. *Le Français dans*... Spécial, Recherches et applications, Vers le Plurilinguisme? I... linguistique, Edicef, pp. 20-31.

Bureau of Immigration Research 1991 *Australian Immigra... Statistics*. 16, 1989-90. Canberra: AGPS.

Bureau of Tourism Research 1992 *Japanese Tourism in Australia*. International Visitor Survey Major Market Report Japan 1990. Canberra: Bureau of Tourism Research.

Commonwealth Department of Education 1982 *Towards a national language policy.* Canberra: AGPS

Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training 1988

Di Biase, B., Andreoni, G., Andreoni, H. and Dyson, B. 1994 *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential:Profiles of 9 Key Languages in Australia. Volume 6 - Italian.* Canberra: The National Languages and Literacy Institute.

Galbally, F. J. 1978 *Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants: Migrant Services and Programs.* Canberra: AGPS.

Gardner, R. C. 1985 *Social psychology and second language learning: The role of attitudes and motivation.* London: Edward Arnold.

Girard, D. 1991 L'Europe dans toutes ses langues. *Le Français dans le monde,* Numéro Spécial, Recherches et applications, Vers le Plurilinguisme? Ecole et politique linguistique, Edicef, pp. 62-76.

Goethe Institute 1988 *Language Skills in Business, Science and Technology: A Response to Australia's Needs - German as an Example.* Proceedings of Round Table.

Grimes, B. (ed.) 1988 *Ethnologue. Languages of the World.* Dallas.

Hamers, J. and Blanc, M. 1983 *Bilingualité et Bilinguisme.* Bruxelles: Mardaga.

Haugen, E. 1983 The Implementation of Corpus Planning: Theory and Practice. In Cobarrubias, J. and Fishman, J. A. (eds) *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives.* The Hague: Mouton, pp. 269-??? [Contributions to the Sociology of Language 31]

Haugen, E. 1959 Planning for a standard language in modern Norway. *Anthropological Linguistics,* Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 8-21.

Hawley, D. S. 1982 *Foreign Language Study in Australian Tertiary Institutions: 1974-1981.* Wollongong: University of Wollongong.

Hawley, D. S. 1981 *Survey of Students enrolled in Italian and French Courses in Tertiary Institutions.* Wollongong: University of Wollongong.

Horvath, B. M. and Vaughan, P. 1991 *Community Languages: A Handbook,* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Humblet, J. 1984 Le problème des langues dans les organisations internationales. *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales,* Vol. 36, No. 99/1, pp. 149-161.

Hymes, D. H. 1971 On communicative competence. Excerpts from a paper presented at the Research Planning Conference on Language Development Among Disadvantaged Children, Yeshiva University, 7-8 June 1966. Published in the conference report issued by the Department of Educational Psychology and Guidance, pp. 1-16.

Ingram, D. 1993 Developing Language Education for Australia's Economic Future. *Babel* Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 8-23.

Ingram, D. 1992 Language policy in the context of realizing human rights and maximizing national development. *Language and Language Education: Working Papers of the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia,* Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 78-94.

Ingram, D. 1991a Principles of Language-in-education Planning. Paper to the XVIIth FIPLV World Congress on Language Learning, *Lifelong Language Learning*, Pecs, Hungary, 10-14 August 1991.

Ingram, D. 1991b Review of the 'White Paper' on language policy in Australia: Australia's language - the Australian language and literacy policy. *Babel*. Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 4-14.

Ingram, D. and John, G. 1990 *The Teaching of Languages and Cultures in Queensland: Towards a Language Education Policy for Queensland Schools*. Nathan, Qld: Centre for Applied Linguistics and Languages, Griffith University, for the Queensland Education Department.

Jernudd, B. 1986 Introduction. In Annamalai, E., Jernudd, B. H. and Rubin, J. (eds) *Language Planning: Proceedings of an Institute*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages (Co-sponsored by the Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center).

Jernudd, B. and Baldauf, Jr, R. 1987 Planning Science Communication for Human Resource Development. In Das, B. K. (ed.) *Language Education in Human Resource Development*. Anthology. Series 20, pp. 144-189. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Jernudd, B. and Das Gupta, J. 1971 Towards a theory of language planning. In Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B. H. (eds) *Can language be planned?* Hawaii, University Press of Hawaii, pp. 195-215.

Johnston, N. and Easterbrook, M. 1992 Immigration down but tourism near record levels. *The Age*. 4th February 1992.

Juddery, B. 1994 Latest language profile highlights 'attrition' of LOTE in schools. *Campus Review*, 14-20 April, p. 4.

Kalantzis, M., Cope, W. and Slade, D. 1989 *Minority Languages and Dominant Culture*. London: Falmer Press.

Karam, F. 1974 Toward a definition of language planning. In Fishman, J. A. (ed.) *Advances in Language Planning*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 103-124.

Keenan, E. 1975 Norm-makers, Norm-breakers: Uses of Speech by Men and Women in a Malagasy Community. In Bauman, R. and Sherzer, J. (eds) *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. London: Cambridge University Press, pp. 125-143.

Kloss, H. 1969 *Research Possibilities on Group Bilingualism: A report*. Quebec: International Center for Research on Bilingualism.

Knopfelmacher, F. 1982 The Case Against Multi-Culturalism. In Manne, R. (ed.) *The New Conservatives in Australia*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Laine, E. J. 1987 The filter story: Incarnation of a myth. Sydney: AILA World Congress (Mimeo)

Laitin, D. D. 1992 *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lambert, W. and Gardner, R. 1972 *Attitudes and motivations in second language learning*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Leal, R. B., Bettoni, C. and Malcolm, I. 1991 *Widening Our Horizons: Report of the Review of the Teaching of Modern Languages in Higher Education*. 2 Volumes. Canberra: AGPS.

Lo Bianco, J. 1992 Rationales for Languages other than English Learning, K-12. The Macarthur lecture. University of Western Sydney. September 2 1992. Unpublished paper

Lo Bianco, J. 1991 Speech for the Honourable John Dawkins, M. P. Address given at the OECD/CERI Conference on Education for Cultural and Linguistic Pluralism. Sydney, 20-22 March, 1991.

Lo Bianco, J. 1990a Making language policy: Australia's experience. In Baldauf, Jr, R. B. and Luke, A. (eds) *Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 47-79.

Lo Bianco, J. 1990b A Hard nosed multiculturalism: Revitalising Multicultural Education? *Vox*, No. 4, pp. 80-95.

Lo Bianco, J. 1989 *Victoria languages action plan*. Victoria: Ministry of Education.

Lo Bianco, J. 1987 *National Policy on Languages*. Canberra: AGPS.

Lo Bianco, J. and Monteil, A. 1990 *French in Australia: New Prospects*. Canberra: Centre d'études et d'échanges francophones en Australie.

Mackridge, P. 1985 *The Modern Greek Language*. Oxford.

Marletta, C. 1991 *Italian insertion classes and after hours classes in state primary schools 1991: A survey*. Brisbane: Queensland LOTE Centre.

Marriott, H., Neustupny, J. V. and Spence-Brown, R. 1993 *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential: Volume 7 - Japanese*. Canberra: The National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia.

Marshall, D. F. and Gonzalez, R. D. 1990 Una Lingua, Una Patria?: Is Monolingualism beneficial or Harmful to a Nation's Unity? In Adams, K. L. and Brink, D. T. (eds) *Perspectives on Official English: The Campaign for English as the Official Language of the USA*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 29-51.

Martin, J. I. 1983 The Development of Multiculturalism in Australia. In Australia, Committee of Review of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs 1983.

Martin, J. I. 1978 *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

McCormack, G. 1989 The teaching of Asian languages. In *Asian Studies Association of Australia Review*. Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 50-73.

McKay, E. 1990 Asian Studies in Australia and Some Overseas Comparisons. *Vox* No. 4, pp. 95-100.

Midgley, D. 1991 *Australian Management and International Competitiveness*. Sydney: University of New South Wales [A Report prepared by the Centre for Export Marketing, Australian Graduate School of Management].

Migrant Task Force, S.A. 1973 *Report to Minister*. Canberra.

Migrant Task Forces. 1974 *Conference of Migrant Task Forces*. Canberra.

Millet, M. 1992 Keating Defies Lib Premiers. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. 8 December, pp. 1-2.

Moore, H. 1991 Enchantments and Displacements: Multiculturalism, Language Policy and Dawkins-speak. *Melbourne Studies in Education.*, pp. 45-85. First appeared as: Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages: An Australian Perspective. Australian Council of TESOL Associations, Occasional Paper No 1, February 1991.

National Development Information Office 1991 *Indonesia Source Book 1990/1991*. Jakarta: Republic of Indonesia.

National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia 1991 *Language is Good Business Conference Proceedings: The Role of Language in Australia's Economic Future*. Elwood: Ventura Publisher.

Neustupny, J. V. 1991 Atarashii nihongo kyooiku no tame ni (Towards new perspectives in Japanese language teaching). *Sekai no Nihongo Kyooiku* . No. 1, pp. 1-14.

Neustupny, J. V. 1989 *Strategies for Asia and Japan Literacy*. Papers of the Japanese Studies Centre, No. 15. Melbourne: Japanese Studies Centre.

Neustupny, J. V. 1983 Towards a Paradigm for Language Planning. *Language Planning Newsletter*, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 1-4.

New South Wales Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs 1989 *Excellence and Equity*. A White Paper on Curriculum Reform in New South Wales Schools. Sydney, Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs.

Nicholas, H., Moore, H., Clyne, M. and Pauwels, A. 1993 *National enquiry into the employment and supply of teachers of languages other than English*. Melbourne: NLLIA.

Niebel, M. 1988 Language Studies and Business. In Veit (ed.) *Language skills in business and technology: A response to Australia's needs - German as an example*. Melbourne: Gœthe Institute.

Ozolins, U. 1993 *The Politics of Language in Australia*. Hong Kong: Cambridge University Press.

Ozolins, U. 1991 National Language Policy and Planning: Migrant Languages. In Romaine, S. (ed.) *Language in Australia*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp. 329-348.

Ozolins, U. 1985 The National Language Policy issue in Australia. In Clyne, M. (ed.) *Australia: Meeting Place of Languages*. ANU Pacific Linguistics. Series C-92. Canberra, pp. 281-299.

Professional Languages Association for a National Language Policy (PLANLangPol) 1983 *A National Language Policy for Australia*. Sydney: the committee

Robinson, G. 1973 *Foreign Language Study in NSW. State of the Art, 1973*. Sydney: NSW Education Department, Centre for Research in Measurement and Evaluation.

Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B. H. (eds) 1971 *Can Language be Planned?* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Ruiz, R. 1990 Official Languages and Language Planning. In Adams, K. L. and Brink, D. T. (eds) *Perspectives on Official English: The Campaign for English as the Official Language of the USA*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 11-24.

School Education News 1991 Second language compulsory bid. 21 August, p. 9.

Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts 1984 *A National Language Policy. Report of the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts*. Canberra: AGPS.

Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts 1982-83 *Reference: The Development and Implementation of a Co-ordinated Language Policy for Australia, Evidence and Submissions*. Parliamentary Papers.

Smith, D., Chin, N., Louie, K. and Mackerras, C. 1993 *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential: Profiles of 9 Key Languages in Australia. Volume 2 - Chinese*. Canberra: The National Languages and Literacy Institute.

Sommer, A. B. 1981 Bilingualism: The cognitive perspective, with special reference to the Northern Territory Bilingual Education Programme for Aborigines. In Garner, M. (ed.) *Community Languages: Their Role in Education*. Melbourne: River Seine Publications, pp. 97-104.

South Australian Department of Education 1990 *Linking people through languages: Languages other than English in our schools*. Adelaide: SA Department of Education.

Stanley, J. 1990 Language and Trade: A Review of the LOTE Needs of the Australian Economy *Vox* No 4, pp 12-17.

Stanley, J. A., D. Ingram and G. Chittick 1990 *International Trade and Language Competence*. Canberra: AGPS [Report to AACLAME].

Tamis, T. and Gauntiett, S. 1993 *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential: Profiles of 9 Key Languages in Australia. Volume 8 - Greek*. Canberra: The National Languages and Literacy Institute.

Tamis, A. M. 1991 Modern Greek in Australia. In Romaine, S. (ed.) *Language in Australia*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp. 249-270.

Tamis, A. M. 1990 Language change, language maintenance and ethnic identity: The case of Greek in Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol. 11, No. 6, pp. 481-500.

Tamis, A. M. 1988 The history of Modern Greek language, Greek culture and media in Australia. In *Encyclopedia of the Australian People*, pp. 527-531. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Tamis, A. M. 1986 The State of Modern Greek as spoken in Victoria. PhD dissertation.

Tauli, V. 1974 The theory of language planning. In Fishman, J. (ed.) *Advances in Language Planning*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 49-67.

Tauli, V. 1968 *Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Thomas, M. 1992 Fatal flaws in foreign language teaching. *The Australian*, 9 December, p. 15.

Tollefson, J. 1991 *Planning Language, Planning Inequality: Language Policy in the Community*. New York: Longman.

Tourism Training Australia 1992 *Tourism 2000: Key Directions for Human Resource Development*. [Prepared by The National Centre for Studies in Travel and Tourism and R. T. Kinnaird and Associates].

Tschoumy, J-A. 1991 Un modèle 'europhonique' le cas de la Suisse. *Le Français dans le monde*, Numéro Spécial, Recherches et applications, Vers le Plurilinguisme? Ecole et politique linguistique. Edicef, pp. 77-90.

UNESCO 1953 *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*. Paris: UNESCO.

Vaillancourt, F. 1991 The economics of language: Theory, empiricism and application to the Asian Pacific. In *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 29-44.

Valverde, E. 1990 *Language for Export. A study of the use of language and language related skills in Australian export companies*. Canberra: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. [Report to the Office of Multicultural Affairs]

Valverde, E. 1994 *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential: Profiles of 9 Key Languages in Australia. Volume 9 - Spanish*. Canberra: NLLIA.

Veit, W. (ed.) 1988 *Language skills in business and technology: A response to Australia's needs - German as an example*. Melbourne: Gœthe Institute.

Victoria Ministry of Education 1992 *Languages other than English in Government schools 1991*. Melbourne: Victorian Department of School Education.

Western Australia Ministry of Education 1990 *Languages other than English (LOTE) strategic plan*. Perth: Ministry of Education.

Williams, L. 1992 Asian language study: a Tower of Babel? *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 November, p. 23.

Working Party on Language and Linguistics 1976 *Languages and Linguistics in Australian Universities*. Canberra: AGPS.

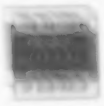
Worsley, P. 1993 *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential: Profiles of 9 Key Languages in Australia. Volume 5 - Indonesian/Malay*. Canberra: NLLIA.

Wykes, O. 1966 *Survey of Foreign Language Teaching in Australian Universities*. Canberra: Australian Humanities Research Council (Typescript).

Wykes, O. and King, M. G. 1968 *Teaching Foreign Languages in Australia*. Melbourne: ACER.

From Language Policy to Language Planning

The Languages Other Than English situation in Australian schools is changing rapidly. The last two decades have witnessed a spate of Federal and State Government reports on a range of language related areas which demonstrate an on-going commitment to well-articulated language policies. This commitment has earned Australia an international reputation as a leader in the area of language policy.

What have these policies produced to date? What is the current state of language learning in Australia? Where do we go from here? This important book addresses these questions in two contexts. Firstly language policy development and planning implementation are considered. Secondly, questions about LOTE learning and teaching in Australia are examined through the data and insights gained by the nine key languages research project.

Without accurate data decision makers planning language programs in schools and universities are working in the dark. This book will help them to set realistic goals. It is essential reading for applied linguists, language policy makers, curriculum developers and teachers at all levels.